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MATERIALS

FOR A

LIFE OF CHRIST;

FOUR LECTURES,

DELIVERED IN THE

ROSEMARY STREET LECTURE HALL,

BY THE

REV. A. B. HAMILTON, M.A., LL.B. (R.U.I.);
A.B., SEN. MOD. (TRIN. COLL., DUBLIN).

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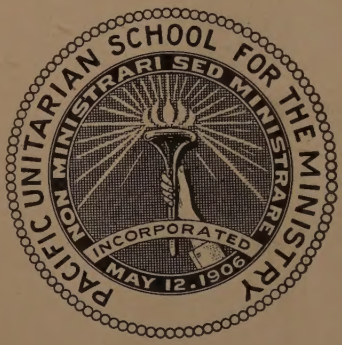

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PREFACE.

THESE Lectures were originally delivered under the auspices of the Unitarian Society, on the 15th March, 1893, and succeeding Wednesdays. They are now published owing to the kind assistance rendered by the same organization. From the limits within which they are confined it is obvious that readers are not to expect to find in them any evidence of original investigation or new theories. The object of the author has been to set forth in a clear light and in a popular form the leading results of Modern Criticism, and to place his readers in a position which will enable them to follow with some degree of appreciation the critical controversies of the last half-century, and to estimate the value of the various arguments relied upon by those contending scholars who with the same materials at their command have arrived at results in such startling opposition. The usefulness of the Pamphlet and its value as an introduction to the science of Gospel Criticism will, it is obvious, depend largely on the impartiality displayed in it. It has been the writer's aim to hold the balance with rigid fairness, and to present conflicting arguments in a spirit of loyalty to truth, and in such a manner as to do no injustice to either the Critical or the Conservative School of Biblical Scholars. He hopes that he will be permitted to apply to himself and his own labours the language of the great Latin exponent of the tenets of Academicians (Cicero, Acad. Prior. Sects. 7, 8) :—" Spite of the many difficulties in which all knowledge is involved of the obscurity of our

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topics, and of the unreliability of our judgment—circumstances which to some extent justified the wisest men of antiquity in their scepticism as to the possibility of reaching certain conclusions—we will not abandon our investigation in sheer weariness, just as they did not flag in their quest; and our discussions aim at no other object than by controversy to draw out, and, if I may use the term, to embody something which may be undisputed truth, or its next door neighbour. The only difference which subsists between us and those who think themselves mines of knowledge lies in the fact that *they* feel no hesitation as to the truth of their system, *we* admit many probabilities on which we are prepared to act, while we dare hardly accept them unreservedly."

* * * * * * * * * *

This system of judicial impartiality and of suspension of judgment in the presence of conflicting testimonies—"*cum in eadem re paria contrariis in partibus momenta rationum invenirentur*" (*Acad. Post. sect.* 45)—is one which must be adopted by any investigator who hopes that his results will be lasting; by any teacher, however elementary, who wishes to inspire those who submit to his guidance with that love of truth which, when united with reverence for the past, is the only spirit in which theological investigations can advantageously be carried on. In this unpretending Pamphlet it has been the author's aim to incite his readers to prosecute the search for truth, and at the same time to foster in them reverence for Jesus, "the author and finisher of our faith." And he prays that God may graciously bless his weak attempt.

MATERIALS FOR A LIFE OF CHRIST.

LECTURE I.

It is, as you probably understand, my object in these lectures to pass in review the best known and most widely studied of those documents upon which the Christian public all over the world relies for its knowledge of the sayings and actions which marked the career of the great Founder of our Faith. A more worthy subject of investigation could hardly be propounded to an intelligent Christian audience. The extent of the moral and religious revolution brought about by the promulgation of Christ's teaching is incalculable—the wider charity, the warmer love of man for man, the truer appreciation of God's nature and His attributes which distinguish us from the masses of heathendom is due to the influence produced by the example and the words of Jesus more than to any other cause. If, as we can hardly justly deny, an intellectual decadence and a disintegrating action on the great civilizing power of the day—the ancient Roman Empire—accompanied the spread and the universal adoption of Christianity, these losses have been far more than counterbalanced by the higher standard of morals, the stricter sense of responsibility, and the increased desire to redress wrong and to succour the miserable which Christianity has brought in its train. In every philanthropic effort to relieve suffering, in every manifestation of missionary zeal, in every conquest won over the animal passions and degrading desires which lurk in our own nature, we detect the influence of Jesus. His sayings are household words, His example like a beckoning finger is ever before us, inciting us to nobler effort and to higher aspiration. No apology is therefore necessary for the introduction of

such a topic as that of which I am to treat. I wish to put you in a better position, so far as the materials at my disposal and the time at our command enable me, for understanding the historic Jesus of Nazareth, by showing you the impression produced by His language and His conduct on His most ancient biographers, the several attitudes under which they viewed His work, and the amount of previous training which each of them brought to his task as well as the conditions under which they severally performed it. How it happens that the picture of Jesus with which we are all familiar comes to be what it is, is the question which we are now to discuss. And I may state that it is a purely historical investigation in which I ask you to accompany me. No dogmatic element will, so far as I can prevent it, intrude to distort our judgment: I will neither commence by assuming the absolute infallibility of the Scriptures nor the impossibility of miracles. We shall test the books which come under our notice by the rules of historic criticism. The utter want of interest with which too many persons—otherwise well-informed and intelligent—regard such questions as those we are about to treat is due, in my opinion, almost exclusively to the dogmatic and controversial spirit in which they are approached. The theologian strives to fit every utterance of every sacred writer on the Procrustes bed of his own preconceived opinions, and produces a work of special pleading, not a contribution to historic research. It may be useful to add that in these lectures I do not intend to advocate any particular theories. My task is rather that of the impartial judge in his address to a jury, summing up the evidence compendiously and leaving others to determine to which side the balance of truth inclines. Let us then enter upon the investigation which we are assembled to conduct reverently and at the same time fearlessly. Whatever the results to which sacred criticism may finally lead, the value of our Gospels, as records of the sayings and doings of Jesus, never can diminish. The Sermon on the Mount, whose pregnant sayings are associated with our holiest memories and have for centuries nerved human souls in the pursuit of good-

ness and comforted sorrowing hearts, will be as precious five hundred years hence as it is to-day: whatever else may prove transient and ephemeral, the ethical value of what the Saviour said will endure as long as men are men and human nature what it is.

The materials for a life of Jesus which we derive from Jewish sources need not detain us long. In the Eighteenth Book of "The Jewish Antiquities," written by Josephus, occur the following words: "At this time" [*i.e.*, during the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate] "appeared Jesus, a wise man, if indeed he may be called a man; for he was a worker of miracles, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with joy, and he drew to himself many Jews and also many of the Greeks. This was the Christ. And when, at the instigation of our chief men, Pilate condemned him to the cross, those who first loved him did not fall away. For he appeared to them alive again on the third day, according as the holy prophets had declared this and a thousand other wonderful things of him. To this day, the sect of Christians, called after him, still exists." That this passage is an interpolation is now admitted by all competent authorities. Internal and external evidence demonstrate that it could not have formed part of the original text of the historian. Canon Farrar in his "Life of Christ" (page 20, ed. 1900) rejects it as unreservedly as Theodore Keim. Nor will I pause to mention the numerous unfounded fables recorded in the Talmud upon the Mishna—that Jesus was the son of Mary of Magdala, that his father was a Roman soldier named Panderus or Pandera-Pappus; that he learned sorcery in Egypt, and by its means seduced numbers into idolatry; that brought to trial and sentenced to be stoned, he was detained for forty days during which no one testified to his innocence, and finally stoned and hanged on the eve of the Passover. Vile fables of this description, the outcome of Jewish spiteful hatred, we pass over with the contempt that their late origin, their want of corroboration, and their evident malice merit.

Neither can we hope to learn much from heathen sources as to the details of the life of Jesus. His wonder-

ful career is passed over in almost complete silence by the later classical writers. Juvenal, though his allusions to the Jews are frequent, never mentions it. Plutarch is completely silent on the topic of Christianity. Tacitus, after his description of the great fire at Rome in the days of Nero, tells us that in order to get rid of the report that the conflagration had resulted from orders given by himself, the emperor fastened the guilt and inflicted the most exquisite tortures on a class called Christians, hated for their abominations by the populace. Then, in a few careless and contemptuous words, he details the origin of the sect: "Christus, from whom the name had its origin, suffered the extreme penalty during the reign of Tiberius at the hands of one of our procurators, Pontius Pilate, and a most mischievious superstitution, thus checked for the moment, again broke out not only in Judaea, the first source of the evil, but even in Rome, where all things hideous and shameful from every part of the world find their centre and become popular. Accordingly, an arrest was made of all who pleaded guilty; then, on their information, a great number were convicted, not so much of firing the city as of hatred of the human race" (Annals XV., 44). Suetonius, in his "Lives of the Twelve Caesars," tells us that during the reign of Claudius the Jews were banished from Rome on account of a sedition raised amongst them by one Chrestus. The statement that the Jews were expelled from the city under that emperor is indeed corroborated by Acts xviii., 2; but it has been shrewdly conjectured that the mention of the so-called agitator Chrestus, of whom we hear nothing from any other source, is due to a misapprehension on the part of Suetonius. The name "Christus" would have sounded unmeaning to a Greek or a Roman: that of "Chrestus" was a familiar one. A riot which ensued in the Jewish colony on account of some attempt made to introduce Christianity among its members may have given occasion to the promulgation of the edict. The police, hearing on all sides the name "Christus" repeated as that of the causer of the tumult, may have carelessly and hastily concluded that the person whose name had

given rise to the disturbance was at the time alive and a prominent leader of one of the two contending factions. The Roman authorities were not likely to inquire with great minuteness into the rights and the wrongs of a dispute among a people so despised as were the Jews. It is unnecessary to say that I do not intend to spend any time examining into the purely apocryphal "Acts of Pilate"—a pretended report furnished by the procurator to Tiberius detailing the incidents of the trial and crucifixion of Jesus. Nor need we dwell at length upon the "True Discourse" of Celsus. This work, unfortunately now lost and only known to us through Origen's book in refutation of its arguments, does not profess to be a history. It is an attack upon Christianity, an attempt to impugn the testimony of the Four Evangelists.

Many sayings attributed to Jesus, some of great beauty and a high degree of credibility, others marked by glaring absurdity, have came down to us on the authority of various lost gospels or from other sources. As we find in the Acts of the Apostles (xx. 35) a report of language alleged to have been used by Jesus, for which we would search the Four Gospels in vain, it is reasonable to conclude that tradition must have fondly cherished many of the Master's utterances, and have handed them down from generation to generation. In the course of these lectures it will be my duty to direct your attention to one lost Gospel in particular—viz., the Gospel according to the Hebrews—and I hope, if time permits, to be able before the close of our course to give a short account of lost and apocryphal Gospels. But, our present task is to deal with the four canonical Gospels. They are, and must always remain, the source from which a biographer of Jesus will almost exclusively draw his materials.

The Four Gospels, as you are all aware, have been by modern criticism divided into two classes. To Matthew, Mark, and Luke have been applied the term Synoptic Gospels, indicating that all three—whatever may be their lesser discrepances—agree in presenting a common view of the life of Christ. The Fourth Gospel stands in a category by itself. Even the most careless reader can

hardly fail to notice the marked difference in every respect between it and the Synoptic Gospels. The deep spiritual tone which pervades the Fourth Gospel, and the vigorous originality of thought which characterise it, have long rendered it a favourite among Christian students. Martin Luther, in his preface to the New Testament, declared himself willing to reject all the other Gospels in favour of this tender and beautiful work; and his opinion is probably shared by the majority of earnest people to the present day. We all shrink back at first in horror from the supposition that the document in which are to be found some of the deepest and truest sayings with which we are acquainted is not, as it professes to be, from the pen of the disciple whom Jesus loved, and are tempted instinctively to discard such a hypothesis as a groundless absurdity. Nevertheless, as the controversy on this subject, originally raised by Bretschneider, is as far from being settled as ever, as the most conflicting views are propounded by different critics with regard to the authorship of the Fourth Gospel; and as the question is by far the most difficult one with which sacred criticism deals, it is necessary for us to treat of it, and I shall, to the best of my ability, present you with a short and impartial *resumé* of the arguments relied upon by those who deny and those who maintain the apostolic authorship of the book. Those who are desirous of pursuing the question further may, with advantage, consult the Introduction to Keim's great work, "The History of Jesus of Nazara," where they will find a full statement of the arguments against the Johannine authorship of the Gospel; while, on the other side of the controversy, Dr. Salmon's Introduction to the New Testament (ed. 1892) may be profitably studied as setting forth all that is most forciby urged by modern apologists.

The mention of Dr. Salmon's name, however, renders it necessary that I should pause to protest against the foul libel which he has perpetrated in this volume, asserting (page 196) that assailants of the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel are influenced not by historical and critical, but by dogmatic considerations—"the impossibility of reconciling the Gospel with the denial of our Lord's Divinity."

By the word "Divinity," Dr. Salmon, of course, means "Supreme Deity," and it is greatly to be regretted, in the interests of ordinary justice, that he has not used the latter term. He proceeds to say that "the forms of scientific enquiry may be gone through, but the sentence has been passed before the evidence has been looked at." A more unfair and unfounded statement was never made, even by a controversial divine. I shall not imitate Dr. Salmon in his ascription of unworthy motives—shall not inquire into the reason of his deep anxiety to defend the Gospel. I hope, however, that you will pardon me if, departing for a moment from the rule which I have laid down for myself during these lectures—viz., that of eschewing all dogmatic considerations—I take leave to say that whatever may be the Christology of the Fourth Gospel it falls far short of the requirements of modern orthodoxy. The position of the Son is, indeed, an exalted one; still, of himself he can do nothing (John v. 30), he lives by the Father (vi. 57), he proceeded forth and came from God (viii. 42), the Father is greater than he (xiv. 28). He repudiates the charge of aiming at Supreme Deity, and gives an explanation of the title "Son of God" thoroughly inconsistent with the claims advanced on his behalf by orthodoxy (x. 33-36); he speaks of the Father as "the only true God" (xvii. 3), and in his message to the disciples declares that he is ascending "to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God" (xx. 17). If Dr. Salmon had passed these texts and others like them in review before he made the charge of which I now complain, he would have been convinced of its unfounded character and unbecoming nature.

The question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel must, like that of all other documents, be tried by two tests—external and internal evidence must be sifted. The controversialists in this dispute have hitherto been arguing at cross purposes: the apologists rely almost exclusively on external, the deniers of the apostolic origin of the Gospel mainly depend on internal proofs. It was from considerations arising from the statements contained in, and the language employed by, the Gospel of which we

are now treating, that the present controversy took its rise. I propose, therefore, to consider the internal evidence first, and shall reserve the external testimony on the subject till our next lecture, when I shall bring it forward along with the evidence adduced on behalf of the three Synoptic Gospels. It must, of course, be granted that, inasmuch as our Four Gospels were known as early as the end of the second century and were ascribed to the authors whose names they now bear, the onus of proof lies upon those who impugn this ancient and unbroken chain of testimony. Church tradition may not be infallible: it is not, however, to be discarded without grave cause and without some attempt to explain the cause of its origin and universality.

In trying the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel several questions rise at once to our mind—several tests which an impartial inquirer will apply. In the first place, we naturally ask ourselves if the author, whoever he was, had any other object in view than merely to write an account of things which took place—was his aim a purely historical one, or was it partly dogmatic? The answer to this question will not, of course, finally determine the controversy on either side—the Apostle John might have held certain doctrinal opinions and might have undertaken the task of writing a life of Jesus in order to promulgate them. Nevertheless, if at the commencement of our inquiry we were to find that the author was anxious to give publicity and currency to a certain set of doctrines, it would rouse our suspicions of his complete good faith, would supply us with a motive to explain why a believer wishing to gain a hearing for his own peculiar views should put these forward under the shelter of an apostolic name, and would give us some ground for regarding with distrust the assurance that the favourite disciple was indeed "the disciple who testified of these things and wrote these things" (xxi. 24). Now, in addition to the fact that the author of the Fourth Gospel in what were originally probably the concluding words of his book has frankly stated his object in writing: "that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God" (xx. 31),

it is alleged and is for you (who are probably fully acquainted with the contents of the work) to judge of the truth of the assertion that the Fourth Gospel is from beginning to end a dogmatic treatise. This opinion is not one of modern growth. Ancient tradition tells us that John the Apostle wrote his Gospel in order to confute the heretic Cerinthus. Whatever opinions have been held in different epochs with regard to the particular object with which the book was written, all critics agree that it is a work of apologetic character, widely differing from the colourless, impersonal, and purely objective narratives of the Synoptics. Authorities all agree that the Fourth Gospel was written with a special doctrinal aim : they disagree merely as to the nature of the object which its author had in view. We see the light and truth which are in God revealed through Christ, and brought into forcible contrast with the darkness of the world—the light shines in darkness, and the darkness does not comprehend it. All the details of the biography are—so modern critics contend—rendered subservient to the manifestation of this antagonism, and its gradual development is exhibited under the guise of a history of Jesus. How far this view of the object aimed at by the writer of the Fourth Gospel is a complete one, I leave to your judgment to decide.

The next internal test which I shall apply to the Fourth Gospel is this—Does its account of the sayings of Jesus and its portraiture of his character tally with the records contained in the first three Gospels? Does Jesus use the same forms of expressions, does he direct his exhortations to the same end in the reports of his speeches contained in the Fourth Gospel as in those preserved in the other three? The answer to this question, whatever it may prove to be, will not finally determine the controversy, though it is an important element in our investigation. If we come to the conclusion that the language attributed to Jesus by one writer is so inconsistent with that which others represent him as using that the same man could not have employed both, there still remains the possibility that the author whose quotations we reject has unconsciously made his

hero speak in terms expressive of the biographer's convictions. Experience teaches us how men of different degrees of mental training, and under the influence of different prepossessions, vary in the accounts which they give even of a speech to which they have all alike listened. Even the simplest conversation, retailed by two separate narrators, is liable to assume very different meanings owing to the sympathies or mental habits of the auditors unconsciously biassing their reports. The longer the period which elapses before the language is reduced to writing the greater the distortion to which it is liable. No scholar questions that Plato wrote in all good faith, yet with the Memorabilia of Xenophon before us it is impossible to believe that Socrates, the simple earnest preacher of righteousness, indulged in the philosophic speculations put into his mouth in the Phaedo and the Gorgias. The obvious explanation of the discrepancy is that Plato, immersed in philosophic study, falling more and more under the influence of certain modes and habits of thought, came to regard these as co-extensive with truth, and, believing his master to have been the one supremely wise man of his generation, he in all good faith began gradually to represent Socrates as holding and giving utterance to doctrines which were in his opinion eternally and unalterably true. We should not, therefore, be justified, even if we came to the conclusion that the sayings of Jesus reported in the Fourth Gospel were not in truth uttered by the Master, in deciding against the Johannine authorship of the book *on that ground alone*, more especially as (according to the testimony of tradition) sixty years intervened between the death of Jesus and the publication of the work whose origin we are discussing—ample time to enable a biographer to absorb a new set of ideas and to come to identify those with his Master's teaching. Such a discrepancy between the real and the reported sayings of Jesus would, however, if it existed, be an important element, taken with other circumstances, in enabling us to form our decision.

Now, it is alleged that no utterances could be more dissimilar than those ascribed to Jesus in the Synoptics

and in the Fourth Gospel respectively. In the first, he speaks in a simple and beautiful style; enjoins righteousness and purity of heart ("if thou will enter into life keep the commandments, Matt. xix. 17); uses parables as vehicles to convey his lessons (Mark iv. 34); is enthusiastically welcomed by the common people who hang on his words and "hear him gladly" (Mark xii. 37, Luke viii. 40, xiii. 17). So great is his influence among the multitude that the authorities fear to lay hold of him (Matt. xxi. 45-46, xxvi. 3-5). In the Fourth Gospel all this is altered. Jesus speaks almost invariably of himself and his exalted position, employs language so obscure that commentators have often disagreed as to his meaning, does not through the whole book make use of a single parable, and never addresses the crowd without entering into acrimonious controversy with them. In the Synoptics he appears as a teacher and an upholder of the law, whose claims to obedience he vindicates, and which he labours to disembarrass from the vast mass of tradition which had accumulated around it (Matt. v. 17, xv. 1-20); in the Fourth Gospel he assumes an attitude of hostility to the Jewish code, which he speaks of as "your law" (viii. 17, x. 34, &c.)—a phrase which even Paul never employed. Again, while in the Synoptic Evangelists, the charity of Jesus is all-embracing, and his disciples are exhorted to imitate their Father in Heaven, who maketh his rain to fall on the just and on the unjust (Matt. v. 43-46, Luke vi. 27-36), it is alleged that an exclusive spirit pervades the utterances recorded in the Fourth Gospel, a strong distinction being drawn between the disciples and the "world" (xvii. 9), quite consonant with the spirit of the man who would not enter the baths along with a heretic, would not bid such an one God-speed (2 John ii.), is satisfied that he is of God and that "the whole world lieth in wickedness" (1 John v. 19), but indicating a frame of mind impossible to the friend of publicans and sinners. It is further alleged that, if there were any doubt possible as to which report of the language of Jesus is the correct one, one consideration would enlighten us. All the persons represented in this biography as speaking adopt,

say the critics, exactly the same style. They refer us to the language of John the Baptist (iii. 35), of Jesus (v. 20), of the historian himself (xiii. 3), and insist that in each case we have the words of the same speaker. They point to the man, who having been born blind, was cured by Jesus (ix.), and detect in his manner the irony characteristic of this particular Gospel. In the words of Jesus to Nicodemus (iii. 11), and of John to his disciples (iii. 32), they detect a similarity of thought and diction so great as to prove that in both instances it is the same person who is really speaking. If this criticism is well-founded, if the different characters introduced in the Gospel narrative are simply mouthpieces of the Evangelist, it is obvious that the conjecture put forward by M. Renan in his "Life of Jesus" (though apparently withdrawn in the later volumes of his "Origins of Christianity") is completely unfounded. This critic, while insisting that the narrative portions of the Fourth Gospel come from John or from some disciple of his school, is willing to reject the speeches as a later interpolation. I do not think I will be departing from the strict impartiality at which I am striving to attain if I pass over this theory without discussion; I should not have thought it necessary to mention it had it not been for the great and well-merited reputation of its author.

Not only do the critics who assail the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel contend that it falsifies the utterances of Jesus and puts into his mouth what are really the evangelist's own opinions, they claim further to have detected an unreality in his character. They point to his having prayed for the sake of the people who stood by (xi. 42), and to his ejaculation on the cross, "I thrist!" uttered not under the pressure of physical pain, but "that the Scriptures might be fulfilled" (xix. 28). Some of the actions attributed to Jesus in this Gospel the same critics object to as unworthy of his character. When insidiously pressed by his brethren to go up to Judaea to the feast that his disciples may see his miracles, he declines under the plea that his "hour is not yet come"; but when his brothers have departed he goes up "not openly, but as it

were in secret" (vii. 3-10). He permits Lazarus to die, and allows his sisters to endure the agonies of bereavement during four long days, "that the Son of God might be glorified thereby" (xi. 4). These are a few of the instances of unreality and want of human sympathy alleged against the picture of Jesus drawn by the Fourth Evangelist. It is for you to say if they deserve the weight which some critics have assigned them.

The next test which I propose to adopt is this :—Does the record of events given us in the Fourth Gospel tally with that of the Synoptics? It is obvious that if John the Apostle was indeed the author of the biography, and if he wrote, as tradition says, sixty years after the Crucifixion, many details may have escaped his memory, and he may have confused the chronological sequence of events. This is the explanation of the "real or apparent discrepancies" which Dr. Salmon adopts; he is willing to admit (page 276, ed. 1892) that "the old man's memory may have played him false." I may remark in passing that were a clergyman belonging to our despised denomination to put forward such a suggestion, he would not escape severe criticism for speaking in such terms of the Sacred Writings; but to orthodoxy all things are permissible. Had a marshal like Massena, promoted from the ranks and without the advantages of an early education, survived to the year 1874 and then sat down to write a life of Napoleon from his own recollection, we should not feel surprised if he put the battle of Wagram before that of Aspern and Essling, or had confounded the Consulate of 1799 with that of 1802. If, however, such a biography were to represent the Empire as having lasted thirty years; were to describe an invasion and a conquest of England; or to fix upon Elba as the spot in which Napoleon ended his life, we should certainly feel surprised and should question with justice the genuineness of the work. Out of the long list of discrepancies, "real or alleged,' adduced by assailants of the Fourth Gospel, time only permits me to mention a few: I shall leave it to you to determine whether or not they are of such a nature as to be capable of being explained by lapse of memory on the part of an

apostolic author. If the Synoptic writers are positive on any point, it is that Jesus began his public ministry after John the Baptist had been cast into prison (Matt. iv. 12, Mark i. 14, Luke iii. 20): this event is the starting point with them all, and precedes the calling of the disciples. But, in the Fourth Gospel, Simon Peter, Andrew, Nathanael, and apparently all the disciples (ii. 11) have joined Jesus, the miracle in Cana has been wrought, the temple in Jerusalem has been cleared of dealers, many discourses have been delivered in public—*all* before John's arrest (iii. 24). The Synoptic writers embrace in their narrative of the public ministry of Jesus only a few months, and represent it as having taken place almost exclusively in Galilee, Jesus going up to Jerusalem merely to die. The indications which writers like Canon Farrar, Dr. Geikie, and Dr. Salmon allege of a Judaean ministry in the Synoptics, depend on a disputed reading not adopted in the Authorised or Revised Versions (Luke iv. 24, where some MSS. read "Judaea" instead of "Galilee"), and on the exclamation of Jesus recorded in Matt. xxiii. 37, Luke xiii. 34: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, . . . *how often* would I have gathered thy children together, &c." But of a prolonged Judaean ministry, still more of several ministries, we meet no trace in the Synoptics, and it is difficult to see where in their narratives there is room for the insertion of such incidents. But, in the Fourth Gospel, the larger part of the public career of Jesus is placed in Judaea, he travels back and forward several times between Galilee and Jerusalem, and mention is made of at least three Passover Feasts (ii. 13, vi. 4, xviii. 28) as having occured during his ministry. In the Synoptics, Simon is praised and receives the complimentary surname of Peter, for having at Caesarea Philippi recognised the Messianic claims of Jesus (Matt. xvi. 13-20, Mark viii. 27-30, Luke viii. 18-22); but all three writers agree in representing Jesus as urging secrecy upon his disciples as to the nature of his commission—"he straightly charged them to tell no man." But what, say the assailants of the Fourth Gospel, was the necessity for all this mystery? Andrew has spoken of Jesus as the Messiah (i. 41), the

Samaritans have recognised him and admitted his claims (iv. 42), Jesus publicly asserts his position and dignity (viii. 24, x. 24). Why, they urge, should Simor be lauded for a discovery which Andrew had made long before? John the Baptist, who, in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, is in doubt as to the nature of the claims advanced by Jesus (Matt. xi. 2-3, Luke vii. 18-20), is in the Fourth Gospel the first to proclaim openly his Divine Sonship (i. 34).

The cleansing of the temple, which in the Synoptics occurs during the last days of the ministry of Jesus (Luke xix. 45-46, Matt. xxi. 12-13, Mark xi. 15-18), and which has obviously a close connection with the accusations brought against him (see Mark xi. 18), takes place in the Fourth Gospel on the occasion of what was almost his first appearance as a public teacher (John ii. 13-17). It is indeed possible to believe with Farrar that two different cleansings are referred to; that the one which was earlier in date was unaccountably omitted by the Synoptics, and was completely overlooked by the Jewish authorities. A leading lawyer has left on record his opinion that when a jury has the option of arriving at two conclusions—one reached by the assistance of plain facts visible above the surface, and the other arrived at by an elaborate and ingenious explanation smoothing away difficulties and reconciling apparent contradictions—the jury invariably decides in favour of the theory which requires no ingenious and carefully constructed hypothesis. Whether you will adopt this rule, I cannot say. It is beyond question that to admit the genuineness and authenticity of the Fourth Gospel involves the acceptance of some very startling propositions. We must, for example, believe that four disciples having been called by Jesus under the circumstances recorded in the Fourth Gospel, afterwards left him and were again commanded to join him as related in Matt. iv. 18-22, Luke v. 1-11, that the authors of the First and Third Gospel have designedly or unconsciously omitted to mention the earlier summons, and that John has happened to overlook the later one. We shall, too, undoubtedly find great difficulty in fitting the omitted

calls into the framework of the Gospels which are respectively silent upon them. We are, further, confronted with a great and admitted difficulty in the case of the raising of Lazarus. Of all the miracles recorded of Christ, this is beyond measure the most wonderful and the most convincing. The Fourth Gospel distinctly gives us to understand that by this incident the chief priests were so exasperated that they resolved to put Jesus to death (xi. 53)—in this event we find the immediate cause which, according to this biography, brought about the arrest of our Lord. It is, therefore, with much astonishment that we learn the fact that this stupendous miracle is passed over in silence by the Synoptics. It is argued by apologist writers that the Synoptic Gospels confine themselves almost exclusively to the details of the Galilaean ministry, and that this occurrence was outside their province. We must all admit this explanation to have some weight :—whether it removes all the difficulties with which the omission is surrounded is doubtful, in view of the fact that the healing of the two blind men near Jericho (Matt. xx. 30), the blighting of the fig-tree (Matt. xxi. 17-20, Mark xi. 12-14), and other incidents indisputably Judaean, find a place in these Gospels. Canon Farrar, in his Life of Christ, suggests that when the first draft of Matthew's Gospel was published "there may have been special reasons for not recording a miracle which would have brought into dangerous prominence a man who was still living, and of whom the Jews had sought to get rid" (page 320, ed. 1890). But this explanation is not only inapplicable to Mark and Luke, both of which there is good reason to believe were published at Rome, it assumes that Lazarus *was* living when Matthew's Gospel was written, of which we have no evidence, and it ignores the fact that—whatever may have been the date of its first draft—the First Gospel in the form in which we have it now must have been published after the capture of Jerusalem and the fall of the Jewish hierarchy. It is dismissed as a groundless conjecture by Dr. Plummer (Gospel according to St. John, page 227, edition 1886).

When we come in the course of the next lecture to

treat of the external evidence appealed to in this controversy, I will direct your attention to the Quarto-deciman dispute and its bearing on the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. At present it is enough to mention that while the work of which we are now speaking fixes the day of the Passover Feast as that on which the crucifixion took place (John xviii. 28, xix. 14), the Synoptic Evangelists beyond all doubt represent Jesus as having eaten this meal on the occasion when he partook of the Last Supper with his disciples (Matt. xxvi. 17, 18, 19; Mark xiv. 14, 16; Luke xxii. 7, 8, 11, 13, 15). Canon Farrar, indeed, states that there are "ample reasons for believing" that this banquet commemorated by the Synoptics was "not the ordinary Jewish Passover" but a meal eaten the evening before the Feast, "to which a quasi-Paschal character was given" ("Life of Christ," page 375, edition 1890). Of his "ample" store of reasons, however, this divine does not deign to give us even one. It is unfounded statements of this character, adduced not in the interests of truth, but brought forward to support a predetermined conclusion, which have brought sacred criticism into the discredit under which it at present labours. I do not wish to dwell upon the obvious discrepancy between the statement in Mark that Jesus was crucified at the third hour (xv. 25), and the narrative in the Fourth Gospel which represents him as exposed by Pilate, final sentence not yet having been passed by the procurator, at the sixth hour (xix. 14)—this is obviously one of those details which might have escaped the "old man's memory." It is for you to say if in your judgment the discrepancies which I have mentioned are numerous enough and weighty enough to be inconsistent with Apostolic authorship, and to determine, after having heard the whole case, what effect they ought to have taken in connection with the other considerations which I have submitted or will submit to you.

Another test by which I shall ask you to try the traditional Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel is comprised in the question whether there is anything contained in its pages which is inconsistent with the possibility

of the Apostle John having written it. Our discussion of this topic will be of necessity brief. We, unfortunately, know but little of the incidents in the life of this disciple —*how* little we know for certain will be demonstrated in our next lecture, when we treat of the external evidence for the different Gospels. In the records of all the Evangelists, except the Fourth, he occupies a position altogether subordinate to Peter. Instead of being "the disciple whom Jesus loved," he only emerges from obscurity on three occasions, to receive rebuffs from the Master on the score of his intolerance and his inordinate ambition (Mark ix. 38 ; Luke ix. 49 ; Luke ix. 54 ; Matthew xx. 20 ; Mark x. 35). In the fierce struggle which for so long interfered with the development of infant christianity, he took a prominent part in thwarting the enlightened efforts of Paul, and was an important member of that Judaeo-christian Party which by its narrowness and intolerance did all in its power to hinder the propagation of the gospel. We find him referred to in Galatians ii. 9, as one of the "apparent pillars,"—οἱ δοκοῦντες στύλοι εἶναι—an ironically complimentary designation ; and we learn from this celebrated passage that the only concession which Paul could wring from him and his associates was a promise that he should be left unhampered in his Gentile mission, while the field of Jewish labour was reserved exclusively for the "apparent pillars." This promise, as Paul informs us, was afterwards violated by the Judaeo-christian Party (Gal. ii. 11). Indeed, whatever may have been the views of this section of the church as to the advisability of subjecting heathen converts to circumcision and the Mosaic code, on one subject they were unanimous—the Law was of binding and eternal obligation, no Jew by birth could under any circumstances be emancipated from its provisions. They rejected utterly Paul's teaching that the coming and death of Christ had abrogated the requirements of those statutes which they ascribed to Moses. So far from regarding the law as a burden which neither they nor their "fathers were able to bear" (Acts xv. 10), they gloried in the possession of this mark of distinction separating them from the uncircumcised Gentiles. Even Paul,

vehemently as he protested against the practice of this cruel austerity (Gal. iii. 2-4), was, if we may credit the author of the Acts—the very writer who has represented Peter and James as indifferent to the rite—compelled to circumcise Timothy (Acts xvi. 3), and probably, though his words are ambigious, subjected Titus (Gal. ii. 3) to the same ordeal. Ecclesiastical tradition agrees with this testimony in representing John as a zealous Jew. Polycrates (quoted in Eusebius H. E. iii., xxxi., 3 ; v., xxiv. 3) describes him as a priest wearing the sacredotal *petalon*, a special badge of the high-priest (Exodus xxxix. 30), and one which was also, as we learn from Hegesippus, assumed by James, another vehement Judaeo-christian. The difficulty with which we are thus confronted is—how can that gospel, which is of all the New Testament writings the most anti-Jewish in its character, have emanated from a man deeply imbued with Hebrew prejudices? The claims of the law are never regarded in the Fourth Gospel ; it is "your law" ; the Jews are persistently hostile to, and always found denying the claims of Jesus, which Samaritans (iv. 39) and Greeks (xii. 20-22) admit. As for the fellow-countrymen of the Master, they, "though he had done so many miracles before them, yet believed not" (xii. 37). Matthew and Luke, you will remember, represent the common people as eagerly following him and drinking in his teaching. In the synoptics, the condemnation of Jesus is demanded at the hands of Pilate by "the chief priests, the elders, the scribes, and the whole council" (Mark xv. 1) ; the Fourth Gospel bluntly represents "the Jews" as clamouring for the crucifixion (xx. 31, xxi. 7, 12, 14, 15). It is for you to say what weight, if any, is to be attached to this argument, and if in your judgment this anti-Jewish tendency is neutralised by the statement in John iv. 22 : "Salvation is of the laws."

The test which we have just been considering is closely connected with another one: Is there anything contained in the Fourth Gospel inconsistent with the hypothesis that it could have been written by a Jew of Palestine? In answer to this question, assailants of the genuineness of the book which we are discussing have invariably put

forward the celebrated prologue with its metaphysical disquisition on the nature of the Logos. As I am here addressing what is presumably in large degree an unlearned audience, I cannot hope to make the argument on this point clear to you. I must be content with mentioning that the word "Logos" is a very favourite expression of the great Jewish writer Philo. This teacher, who lived at Alexandria in the time of Christ and during the succeeding generation, laboured to reconcile the Old Testament Scriptures with Neo-Platonic theories, and constructed a medley philosophy compounded of Jewish and Pagan elements. It was undoubtedly from the writings of Philo that this expression (whether denoting an attribute or a person we need not now discuss) was borrowed. But, the assailants of the apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel point to the improbability of a Galilaean fisherman being at home in speculations such as these. They remind us of the great chasm which separated the philosophic Judaism of Egypt from the orthodox Judaism of Jerusalem, and of the horror with which the stricter rabbis regarded all forms of Greek culture. "The man who breeds swine and the person who teaches his son Greek science" were by the doctors involved in a common malediction. It is therefore a surprising circumstance that a keen and bigoted Palestinian Jew should betray such an intimate acquaintance with the terms of Greek philosophy as does the author of the Fourth Gospel. Of course, it is perfectly possible that John the Apostle might in later life have modified his opinions and come to take a different theological standpoint—we frequently meet with such phenomena. Still, the argument is one which deserves to be mentioned.

When attempting to prove that the work under consideration must have been written by a Jew of Palestine, the upholders of Christian tradition refer us confidently to various intimations of familiarity with Jewish customs and geography scattered incidentally through its pages. On the other hand, the opposing school of critics, while not denying the presence of such proofs of familiarity, insist that they are consistent with extra-Palestinian Jewish authorship, and maintain that *one* mistake upon a

matter which a genuine native of Palestine could not have been ignorant of outweighs a dozen instances of knowledge. Their argument proceeds upon the same lines as those adopted by Sir John Coleridge in the Tichborne case. In this celebrated trial, as some of you will remember, Arthur Orton undoubtedly displayed an intimate acquaintance with many of the incidents in the genuine Sir Roger's career, and his familiarity with these won for him many converts. The Attorney-General, however, in his celebrated cross-examination of the Claimant, compelled this impostor to betray ignorance of many circumstances which it was not possible to believe that Sir Roger could have forgotten. Of what advantage were any number of stories purporting to be genuine reminiscences of incidents in the young officer's regimental life to a man who had forgotten the simplest details with regard to the shape of the college buildings in which he claimed to have passed three years of his life, the duration of vacations, and the very names of the books and subjects which he had studied?

It is obviously impossible to raise the author of the Fourth Gospel from the dead and to subject him to cross-examination; but the assailants whose arguments we are considering profess to have discovered indications of an ignorance incompatible with Apostolic authorship. For instance, the repeated statements that Jesus had issued from and had been born at Nazareth, uncontradicted by the Evangelist even under circumstances where we should have expected contradiction (see i. 45, 46; vii. 41, 43), are adduced as proofs that the author of the Fourth Gospel was unacquainted with the tradition which early in the history of the Church fixed upon Bethlehem as the Master's birth-place.

With respect to this argument we must, however, recollect that a considerable degree of uncertainty surrounds the chapters in Matthew and Luke which recount the circumstances of the birth at Bethlehem, and that the doctrine for which they vouch was emphatically rejected by a large section of the infant Church. Assuming, however, the genuineness of these passages and confronting them with the instances of alleged ignorance quoted from

the Fourth Gospel, I think we will agree in admitting that the explanation given by Dr. Salmon (Introduction to the New Testament, ed. 1892, page 277) is reasonable and probable enough. He is of opinion that the omission of any contradiction is due to the evangelist's conviction that his readers are perfectly familiar with this fact in the life of Christ ; and that we have here an instance of so-called "irony." This explanation is all the more probable, as it is difficult to conceive how a diligent student of the Old Testament—such as our biographer unquestionably was—could have been ignorant of the oft-quoted prediction contained in Micah v. 2, or of the manner in which early Christians imagined it to have been fulfilled. I hardly think, however, that the same plea can be urged on behalf of another instance of alleged ignorance. When his Jewish opponents say to Nicodemus, "Search and look ; for out of Galilee ariseth no prophet" (vii. 52), the statement is one directly contrary to the fact. Both Jonah and Nahum were natives of Galilee. On the other hand, this circumstance—with which every Galilaean Jew would certainly be familiar—was not one so well known to the outside world as to set the evangelist free from the necessity of pointing out the mistake into which the enemies of Jesus had fallen. We should certainly have expected that our author, being John the son of Zebedee, would either have shown this objection to be groundless, by referring to the birth of Jesus at Bethlehem, or would have pointed out how destitute it was of historic justification. As a matter of fact, he has simply quoted what was evidently a popular Jewish proverb, relied on by the opponents of Christianity, and has left it unrefuted. We know from other passages that the evangelist was by no means averse to stating explicitly the misapprehensions into which the enemies of the Master fell, and pointing out how these were to be corrected (see ii. 20). Another, and perhaps more important instance of alleged ignorance is one which Dr. Salmon, who has given so long and so elaborate an explanation of a far less serious difficulty, has passed over in complete silence. When Luke, in his account of the preaching of John the Baptist, tells us that

during the year in which it began, "Annas and Caiaphas" were high-priests (iii. 2), we know that we are reading the work of one who cannot have been a Jew, and who is ignorant alike of Jewish history and Jewish customs. In like manner, when we read in the Fourth Gospel (xi. 49) of Caiaphas "being high-priest that same year"—ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου—it is argued that this is a phrase which a Jew of Palestine, born and educated under the rule of the Jerusalem hierarchy, could never have used. He must, it is insisted have been well aware that the high-priesthood was not an annual office: as a matter of fact, Joseph Caiaphas held the office from A.D. 18 to 36, his father-in-law, Annas or Hanan, having been deposed in A.D. 14. We speak of a certain individual as having been Lord Mayor "that year": we do not apply such an expression to a Prime Minister, or other functionary, whose term of power is indeterminate in its duration. It would be hard to conceive how any Roman Catholic historian, no matter how unlettered, could insert in his account of the Vatican Council a statement that Pius IX. was pope "that same year." Of course we must beware against building too much upon a stray expression, which may have been inadvertently used; still, it is in these very inadvertences that we are to look for proof of ignorance, if they exist at all, and to do justice to the case of those who deny the apostolic authorship of this Gospel we must remember that their arguments are to be weighed not only singly but cumulatively. A case is proved by circumstantial evidence when a number of various independent considerations, each susceptible of explanation, but forming when united an irresistable body of proof, converge to the same point. Mathematicians tell us that, according to the doctrine of chances, the improbability of two separate improbabilities *both* occurring is represented by the *product*, not by the *sum*, of the two original improbabilities. This rule, though we ought to bear it in mind, cannot, however, much assist us in our investigation, as we cannot state in numerical figures the exact odds against each one of the suppositions rendered necessary by an acceptance of the Fourth Gospel as the production of John the Apostle.

Closely connected with the charges of ignorance which we have reviewed, are the instances of unexpected omissions which confront us in the Fourth Gospel. Were a life of Napoleon, purporting to have been written by Oudinot, to be posthumously published, we should feel great surprise and should entertain considerable suspicion if we were to discover that it passed over in silence the whole Russian campaign—an expedition in which this general took a conspicuous part. The fact that others have described the details of this ill-fated undertaking would not reconcile us to such an omission—the reports of an eye-witness are always valuable, one spectator often sees things which others have overlooked. The special peculiarity which distinguishes the Fourth Gospel from the Synoptics is that its author professes to have seen what he describes—" he that saw it bear record, and his record is true ; and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe" (John xix. 35). Surely, under these circumstances, it would have been a reasonable thing to expect that the Apostle John, writing a life of Jesus, would have described the scene of the transfiguration in which he bore so conspicuous a part. This incident in the Master's life, though recorded in the Three Synoptics, has not been testified to by any eye-witness ; we cannot believe that so momentous an occurrence ever escaped the memory of anyone who was present at it. It cannot be said that the Fourth Gospel makes it a rule to omit everything recorded in its predecessors : the insertion of the Miracle of Feeding, the Draught of Fishes, and other incidents do away with the possibility of accepting any such explanation. It must be conceded that this is an unfortunate omission, and our regret is intensified by the fact that no allusion to this wonderful event from the pen of an eye-witness (with the exception of a short reference in 2 Peter i. 16—contained in a letter whose genuineness has always been held doubtful by the Church) has come down to us.

There are other omissions in the Fourth Gospel little less difficult of explanation on the hypothesis of its Apostolic origin. There is not, for example, a single instance of a demoniac being cured and a devil expelled from first to last in its pages, though we know that a belief in the

reality of possession was universal in Palestine when Jesus lived ; though the narratives of Matthew, Mark, and Luke abound in proofs of the Messianic powers of Jesus as displayed by the authority which he exercised over unclean spirits ; though John, the son of Zebedee, was—if we may trust the Synoptic Evangelists—especially interested in feats of exorcism. (See Mark ix. 38, 39 ; Luke ix. 49, 50.) The late Rev. John Scott Porter in the notes to a sermon, entitled "The Fourth Gospel is the Gospel according to St. John," delivered in his capacity of President of the Non-Subscribing Association, and afterwards published, asserts (page 27) that the Evangelist does not seem to have been a believer in demoniacal possession, though giving frequent intimations of the prevalence of such a superstition (vii. 20, viii. 48, x. 20). The critics who deny the Apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel with justice rely upon the argument that such an incredulity is inconsistent with all we know from other sources regarding the opinions of John, the son of Zebedee, and that the omission to record in detail any miracles of exorcism makes against the claim of this biography to be regarded as the work of an eye-witness, in view of the prominence which such incidents assume in the life of Jesus.

Another well-marked feature by which the Synoptic Gospels are distinguished from the Fourth is the presence in the former, and the absence from the latter of Apocalyptic predictions and allusions to the second coming of Jesus. How deeply the hope of a triumphant advent of the crucified Messiah was imbedded in the early Christian consciousness, is evident from the most cursory perusal of those documents which are the earliest in the order of composition among the canonical writings. The language of Paul in his first epistle to the Thessalonians (iv. 16, 17) leaves us under no doubt that he expected this glorious consummation during the lifetime of his own contemporaries : the author of the First Gospel represents Jesus as assuring his disciples (Matt. xxiv. 34) that before the generation among whom he was speaking should have passed away the Son of Man would have appeared in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. The

Apocalyptic predictions contained in Mark (xiii.) and in Luke (xxi. 25-28) are equally explicit, though the date for their fulfilment is not fixed with the same definiteness: in the most modern of all the books contained in the New Testament canon, the second epistle of Peter, we find that the same hope is still clung to by a writer who assumes the apostolic garb (iii. 4-10). The fact that only faint echoes of this expectation are to be found in the Fourth Gospel (xxi. 22) is relied on by assailants of its genuineness as a proof that its origin cannot be referred to the apostolic circle: not only does this biography give expression to a different cycle of ideas, but it permits hopes and anticipations eagerly cherished by the contemporaries of Jesus to recede into the background.

The last of the omissions which attract our notice in the Fourth Gospel is the absence of any account of the institution of the Lord's Supper or of the Ascension. Passing over the first of these events for the present, and postponing its further discussion till we treat of the Quarto-deciman controversy, I must be permitted before concluding to call attention briefly to the significance of the absence of any account in the Fourth Gospel of the Ascension. That Jesus, after blessing his disciples, was borne up bodily into Heaven, was the belief of the whole infant Church; it was the consummation of his glorious ministry, the visible token which proved that he had triumphed over the grave. We cannot in this case allege that John, merely writing a supplementary narrative, omitted to give a detailed account of this incident, inasmuch as the Synoptic Evangelists had recorded it—the First Gospel concludes before arriving at this point, the original termination of the Second Gospel has been lost (Mark xvi. 9-20, being as you know a spurious later addition to the narrative). It is only in the pages of the Third Gospel and of the Acts of the Apostles—both, as tradition asserts and modern criticism establishes, the work of the same author—that we find a narrative of this event. *We have no attestation of the occurrence from the pen of an eye-witness.* How valuable, urge the critical assailants of the Fourth Gospel, would have been the testimony of one who could have declared "and he that saw it bare record,

and his record is true, and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe" (John xix. 35). No one can justly object to this argument being pressed with all the force it merits. A staff-officer of General Washington would not, had he undertaken to write a life of the great Virginian, be deemed to have fulfilled his task, had he omitted to give any account of the circumstances which lead up to, and the incidents which attended the surrender of Yorktown —the crowning achievement in his hero's military career; nor should we regard it as an adequate excuse for this oversight were the writer to plead that other historians and biographers had described this closing scene in the great War of Independence. Even this parallel cannot be considered as representing the amount of difficulty with which the hypothesis of an apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel is attended. No one questions the statement that Lord Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown; the evangelists wrote their various lives of Jesus in order to convince an incredulous Jewish and heathen public that their Master's career was really one of a miraculous character. Of all the supernatural incidents attending it, the most wonderful, and if credited the most convincing, was his ascension in the body: why should the Apostle John, an eye-witness, have deprived believers of the comfort to be derived from his recorded testimony, while prodigal of assurances that he saw the blood and water flow from the wounded side? It is for you to say if in your judgment the omissions which I have mentioned are numerous enough and important enough to justify us in attaching weight to them when considering the problem of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel.

I had hoped to have been able in this first lecture to have exhausted the evidence adduced by those critics who deny the Johannine origin of the Gospel we are now considering as far as these relate to internal proofs. It is, however, out of my power to do so, inasmuch as some important points still remain for discussion. These we must postpone till this day week, and it only remains for me now to thank you for the courteous hearing which you have given me, and to apologise for having so long trespassed upon your kindness.

LECTURE II.

In my previous lecture, delivered on this day week, I placed before you some of the objections urged against the apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel on internal grounds. We saw that this biography was charged with owing its existence to dogmatic reasons instead of being intended as a mere statement of facts, and that the assailants of its genuineness regarded its reports of the speeches of Jesus as merely the composition of its author, and its delineation of his character as unworthy and dishonouring. We passed in review also the allegation that the events which occurred during the ministry of Jesus were not represented by the Fourth Gospel as having taken place in such a way as to tally with the narrative of the Synoptics, its duration in the former extending over three years, while the latter (corroborated in this respect by Christian tradition, see Clementine Homilies, 17-19) only describe it as having lasted for a few months or a year at most, and a widely different series of events attending it in the Fourth Gospel from those to which we are introduced in the biographies of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. The difficulty which attended the hypothesis that a work of strong anti-Jewish sympathies was written by a zealous Israelite, like John the son of Zebedee, was also pointed out to you. The biographer's knowledge of the terms of Alexandrine philosophy (which strict Jews eschewed) and his alleged ignorance of matters which every Israelitish native of Palestine must have been familiar with were both dwelt upon as requiring explanation, and it was left to you to say if the excuses offered by apologists were sufficient. Following upon the charge of ignorance came the question of the omission of events of which we would have expected a narrative from one who was an eye-witness of the life of Jesus: the Fourth Gospel, as we saw, inserts wondrous occurrences of which no mention is to be found in the Synoptics, it on the

other hand leaves out all reference to incidents which they narrate and of which a description from the pen of an eye-witness would have been especially valuable—that it was not meant simply as a supplementary narrative is plain from its recording events which had already found a place in earlier biographies. The unexpected story of the raising of Lazarus, the equally strange omission of all reference to the ascension, were both commented upon, and your attention was drawn to the necessity for explanation in the case of both these incidents. I hope it is not necessary for me again to remind you that I am in no way to be taken as enunciating any opinion : my province in these lectures is simply that of one who in a spirit of impartiality states the evidence, leaving his audience and his readers to draw their own conclusions. You will besides remember that as yet we are simply treating of the external evidence available, and this is, as I have already informed you, the part of the case relied upon by the assailants of the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel : the arguments presented by orthodox critics, who occupy in this controversy the position of defendants, will be brought under your notice when what we may call the plaintiff's case is concluded, and having weighed the leading arguments adduced by both sides, you will be in a position to pronounce a verdict for yourselves. There is one result which will, I hope, attend your consideration of these arguments—you will come to see that the question is one more difficult to determine than you may have realised before—that the modern criticism which denies the apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel does not do so under the influence of mere wanton perversity, that the apologists who defend the traditional view are not actuated by mere stupid conservatism, but that both schools have a considerable amount of evidence to rely upon, that it is possible for pious and truth-seeking students to arrive with the best motives at results diametrically opposite. The duty I have set before myself in these lectures will be discharged if I can put you in possession of the main facts in the controversy, can give you an idea clear and accurate so far as it goes of the

ground traversed and the subjects debated by modern criticism, and can induce you to refrain from passing rash and hasty judgments upon and from visiting with harsh censure those who have promulgated opinions contrary to those which you have adopted either through deliberate choice or as a result of early education. Every man of learning, who in a reverent and an impartial spirit devotes his time and energies to the solution of the perplexing difficulties which beset the history of the origins of Christianity, deserves the cordial thanks alike of those who accept and of those who reject the conclusions at which he has arrived. And it is my hope that when these lectures are concluded you will better understand the real difficulty of these problems to the solution of which so much ingenuity, learning, and piety are being at present directed.

The next internal test of the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel to which I shall direct your attention is one which will not long detain us. Admitting that the book entitled the Apocalypse is the production of the apostle John, has that fact any bearing on the question of the origin of the Gospel of which he is the reputed author? The argument based upon our answer to this question is not one which in the present state of sacred criticism can be regarded as conclusive. The authorship of that strange work which stands last in our New Testament, and its claim to rank in the canon have always been subjects of keen controversy: only after a long struggle, and in the face of determined opposition, did the Apocalypse win its way into recognition. Within the last few years a new hypothesis has been broached as to its origin, which—though of too modern a birth to justify me in calling your attention to it—precludes the possibility of drawing any certain inferences from the undeniable dissimilarity which exists between the Gospel and the Apocalypse. Only one thing can be asserted with confidence, viz.:—the author of the Book of Revelation cannot possibly have written the Fourth Gospel. The reasons which justify us in arriving at this conclusion may be very shortly stated.

In the first place, it is obvious to any Greek scholar that the style of the two works is altogether different. The

Fourth Gospel is not a masterpiece of Attic prose, and would not be put before a young student as a model for imitation, still it is *Greek*, and in spite of its Hebrew idioms can be understood by the classical reader. The Apocalypse is written in a jargon which only by the greatest courtsey can be called Greek. What, for example, are we to make of these words, occurring in the very forefront of the book? (Rev. i. 4, 5)—*χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος . . . . . καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστὸς ὁ πρωτότοκος κ.τ.λ.*

It is in vain for Dr. Salmon to contend (Introduction to the New Testament, ed. 1892, p. 218) that the phrase "he who is and was and is to come" is one involving peculiar difficulty, and would probably have been beyond the powers of the author of the Fourth Gospel to render into Greek. This explanation leaves the false apposition and the neglect of the rule that *ἀπὸ* governs the genitive unaccounted for. Moreover, the expression is *not* one which could embarrass any writer with the smallest pretensions to a knowledge of Greek. In the Timaeus of Plato—a work with which the Fourth Evangelist was certainly acquainted—occur the words (38. B):—*τό τε γεγονὸς εἶναι γεγονὸς καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον εἶναι γιγνόμενον, ἔτι δὲ τὸ γενησόμενον εἶναι γενησόμενον*, a phrase which could easily have been adapted to express the meaning of the seer. Similar instances of false apposition are to be found in Rev. iii. 12, Rev. xx. 2—to parallel which we should search the pages of the Fourth Gospel in vain. A number of non-classical words are, moreover, used in the Apocalypse. As an instance of these it will be enough to cite the employment of the interjection *οὐαὶ* as an indeclinable noun (Rev. ix. 12). Dr. Salmon indeed gives up his whole case when he admits that the dissimilarities between the two books are mainly visible in the Greek and disappear in translation, while his suggestion (Introduction to New Testament, ed. 1892, pp. 220, 221) that the author of the Apocalypse may have invoked literary assistance to write the Gospel is only a desperate expedient prompted by despair.

If, however, the argument from style negatives the

hypothesis that the Fourth Gospel and the Book of Revelation can have been the production of the same author, still more clearly is the same conclusion borne in on us when we compare the doctrinal teaching of the two works. This objection is not one which can be met by suggestions of the employment of an amanuensis. The Fourth Gospel is, as we have already seen, the most anti-Jewish in its character of all the writings of the New Testament. It is the "Jews," always spoken of as a foreign people, who engage in acrimonious controversies with Jesus and who finally clamour for his crucifixion: the author of this biography goes far beyond the tolerant standpoint of Paul. On the other hand, the Apocalypse is steeped in Judaism. "The holy city coming down from heaven" (Rev. xxi. 2) is the "New Jerusalem" and is an imitation of the Temple, whose sanctity is such that the seer cannot conceive of it as given over to the Gentiles, whose impious invasion is only to extend to the "court which is without the temple" and only to last for "forty and two months" (Rev. xi. 2)—a hint which enables us with some approach to certainty to fix the year 68 A.D. as that of the composition of the Apocalypse. The venomous though veiled attacks upon Paul with which the book is filled are another proof of its Jewish character. To whom can the author be referring when he speaks (Rev. ii. 2) of those "who say they are apostles and are not" but to the great apostle of the Gentiles? The obscure reference to "the sect of the Nicolaitans" (Rev ii. 6) becomes clear when we remember the meaning of the name Nicolas, a translation of the Hebrew Bileam or Balaam (see Rev. ii. 14). This pseudo-prophet is said to have recommended the seduction of the Israelites through initiation in idolatrous rites (Numb. xxv., xxxi. 8, 16). The followers of Paul did not hesitate to eat of meats even though they had been previously offered to some idol (1 Corin. viii.)—a practice which to fanatical Jews and Judaeo-Christians seemed little better than participation in the rites of heathen worship (Rev. ii. 14, 20; Acts xv. 29). The significance of the nick-name Nicolas as applied to Paul is obvious, and the intense Hebrew feeling which

its employment indicates is altogether inconsistent with the Alexandrine philosophy which pervades the Fourth Gospel. Many other arguments equally forcible might be urged, all tending to demonstrate the impossibility of referring the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse to a common author ; but, in view of the great uncertainty which shrouds the origin of the latter work—Vischer's ingenious hypothesis being as yet too modern to justify me in taking up your time by discussing it—I prefer to pass on to other topics where at least comparative certainty can be attained. For the present, the authorship of the Apocalypse must remain doubtful : should John the son of Zebedee be ever proved to have written it, that fact will by itself demonstrate that he cannot have composed the Gospel which at present goes by his name. But, in the absence of such proof, there is little profit in dwelling on this part of the subject.

The last of the arguments drawn from internal evidence and adduced by assailants of the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel which I shall bring under your notice is the allegation that it contains references to events which occurred after the alleged date of its composition, and embodies forms of thought and expression later in date than the post-apostolic generation to which tradition refers it. This is an argument, which if the facts on which it rests were beyond dispute, would be final and conclusive. When in the play of Macbeth we read the line "That two-fold balls and treble sceptres carry," we know that the tragedy must have been written after the accesion of James I. to the throne of England ; when Rosencrantz in Hamlet, in the passage commencing with "I think their inhibition comes by reason of the late innovation," proceeds to satirise the performances of childish actors, we see an allusion to the licence given 1604 to children to play at the Blackfriars Theatre. Had we any references as intelligible as these in the Fourth Gospel, we should have a limit beyond which its composition could not be placed.

Unfortunately, with the exception of the absence of those apocalyptic predictions which figure in the synoptics, and whose absence in the Fourth Gospel show that it must

have been written at a time when a speedy reappearance of Jesus was no longer expected—a conclusion in which all critics at the present time concur—there is nothing in the biography under consideration which enables us to speak with certainty as to the extreme limit for its composition. (I reserve for the present the consideration of the Quarto-deciman dispute and its bearing on this controversy.) I should not—though the point is one for you and not for me to pronounce judgment upon—advise you to attach great weight to the suggestion that the words ascribed to Jesus in chap. v., 43—"if another will come in his own name, him you will receive"—contain a reference to, and must have been written after, the final rising of Jews under Bar-Cochba, whose revolt against the Emperor Hadrian brought about the final dispersion of the Jewish people, and destroyed forever their national existence. This theory, though sanctioned by Dr. Späth in Schmidt and Holzendorff's valuable Commentary on the New Testament, seems to me to attach to a mere indefinite commonplace a definite application which the words do not justify. Besides, as will afterwards appear, external evidence would seem to show that a date subsequent to that of the suppression of Bar-Cochba's rebellion (*i.e.* after 135 A.D.) is too recent for the composition of the Fourth Gospel. While on this point, I may observe that on this part of the subject a large amount of eloquence has been wasted by modern divines. It is unnecessary to show that the Fourth Gospel cannot have been written in the fourth, the third, or the latter part of the second century; the period within which the controversy is narrowed is a very short one—a circumstance which renders its decision more difficult. Orthodox apologists fix the date of the work at from 80 to 90 A.D. (see Gospel of St. John, by Dr. Plummer, page 34), the latter being the more generally accepted; assailants of the Johannine authorship will, in the light of recent discoveries, hardly question Keim's admission that the gospel "can be traced back a full generation beyond the year 160 A.D." (Keim, Jesus of Nazara, Vol. I., p. 192, Williams and Norgate.) The extreme limits within which the composition of the work can possibly be fixed are 80

A.D. and 135 A.D. ; the more probable limits are from 90 A.D. to 120 A.D.—a period of only thirty years, within which no very important event happened to the infant community.

We are not, therefore, to expect any very clear or unmistakeable indications from which to fix the date of the work we are now considering, and accordingly this test cannot of itself lead us to any final results, though taken in connection with the rest of the evidence the arguments adduced under this head may carry some weight—their force and conclusiveness being entirely a question for your decision. One such intimation of a late origin we find in the attitude of the Fourth Gospel to the Jewish Law ; the relations which the infant Faith bears to the Mosaic code—a point of supreme importance during the lifetime of Paul—have long been settled, the controversy seems even to be forgotten, the definite and final separation between the Church and the Synagogue has taken place. Parties have taken up their respective positions, the lines of cleavage have been clearly traced ; the value of the Old Testament writings and economy, as suppling the shadowy types pointing to and finding their justification and their realization only in a fully developed Christianity, is recognised and insisted on—a view which (while far in advance of the Pauline conception) ultimately became that of the Catholic Church, standing midway as it did between the Conservatism of Judaeo-Christianity and the ultra-Paulinism of Marcionism. The recognition of this doctrinal development in the pages of the Fourth Gospel does not, however, assist us in our present investigation—the phenomenon being consistent with the acceptance either of the traditional date or of that contended for by Modern Criticism. That process of development in the entertained Christian conception of the nature of Christ's person which is to be traced through the pages of the New Testament (the later Epistles of Paul indicating as great an advance upon his earlier ones as do these upon the Synoptic Gospels, and the process of evolution continuing through the Epistle of the Hebrews till it finds its culmination in the Fourth Gospel) is another intimation of lateness of origin.

I am, however, very decidedly of opinion that the Christology of this work falls utterly short of the standard of a later Orthodoxy, and that the passages cited in defence of the doctrine which early becoming fashionable among the Platonic converts to Christianity received at the Council of Nice and at subsequent assemblies the stamp of Catholic acceptance, are in sufficient to bear the strain put upon them. I do not think it advisable to discuss before the present audience, so large a proportion of which is not familiarised with such studies, a subject so full of difficulty as the use of the term Logos in the celebrated prologue to the Gospel; but I may be permitted to express my surprise that cautious divines, trained to weigh evidence and to withhold assent unless on full proof, should see in the words ascribed to Thomas (John xx. 28)—"My Lord and my God" a confession of the disciples belief in the supreme Diety of Christ, bearing in mind the strict monotheism of the Jewish people, the exclamatory nature of the ejeculation, and the exactly parallel address to David contained in 1 Samuel xx. 12—"Jonathan said unto David, 'O Lord, God of Israel, &c.'"

Firmer grounds upon which to base an argument as to the date of the composition of the Fourth Gospel than any furnished by its Christology is afforded us by its numerous points of contact with early Gnosticism. The Gnostic systems, as I presume that most of you are aware, sprang into vigorous activity during the second century of our era, and for a considerable period flourished side by side with the Catholic Church. They differed vastly among themselves, their mutual interdependence and respective characteristics presenting to the student of ecclesiastical history the most bewildering problem which he is called upon to encounter. All of them, however, largely modified and diluted the simple conceptions of primitive Christianity by intermixing extraneous ideas—sometimes grand and poetic, at other times extravagant and absurd. One common characteristic was shared by all the Gnostic schools—they all drew a contrast between the man Jesus and superhuman intelligence (the *aeon* Christos) which was temporally united with his person,

thus rendering the whole history of his life and actions phantasmal and unreal. The allusions to this doctrine through the pages of the Fourth Gospel and the Epistle of John are frequent and unmistakeable. The words "became flesh," contained in the prologue to the Gospel (i. 14), are an attack upon Gnosticism: the test of true Christianity which the writer of the Epistle lays down is a belief that "Jesus Christ is come in the flesh" (1 John iv. 2-3). The statement that Jesus went towards Golgotha "bearing his cross," contained in the Fourth Gospel (xix. 17) and contradicting the account given by the Synoptics, seems to have been inserted from a wish to vindicate the perfect humanity and materiality of the person of Jesus. It seems to have been a tenet of the school of Basilides, taught by some of the disciples, if not by their Master himself, that at the moment of the crucifixion Simon of Cyrene was substituted in the room of Jesus. The prevalence of such a belief may explain the circumstance that the Fourth Gospel—alone among all the biographies of Jesus—omits any mention of this personage. It is alleged, further, that many traces of the system of Basilides, an early Gnostic writer, are to be found throughout the Fourth Gospel—that the use of the terms "Paraclete," "Grace," "Truth," "Fulness" (πλήρωμα, a very favourite Gnostic word), as well as the sharp and frequent contrasts between darkness and light (John i. 5, John i. 8, 9, 10, &c.), point to a familiarity on the part of the author of the Fourth Gospel with the writings of Basilides. As this writer flourished in the reign of Hadrian (117 A.D. to 138 A.D.), the conclusion which the critics who insist upon these parallels would draw is obvious.

I here conclude—a circumstance at which you will probably not to be sorry—my enumeration of the various arguments adduced against the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel so far as these rest upon internal grounds. Our next task is to enter upon a brief consideration of the nature of the external evidence available on the subject, this being the part of the case on which the apologists, who occupy what we may call the position of defendants,

mainly rely. To avoid repetition I shall, in presenting the external proofs to you, treat so far as possible the whole Four Gospels together. We will thus avoid the waste of time and patience involved in the repeated enumeration of Patristic and other writers—many of whom must to several of you be merely names to which you attach no definite ideas. Before, however, entering upon the task of considering the testimony of the Primitive Church upon the subject of the genuineness of our Evangelical records, there are two points of primary importance to which I beg leave to direct your attention. The first of these is an argument based upon internal grounds upon which orthodox critics have long and justly relied. How, they urge. can this beautiful and deeply spiritual production be the work of a man capable of assuming a garb to which he was not entitled, and of falsely passing himself of as an Apostle? There can be no doubt—even if we leave out as a later addition the concluding verses (John xxi. 24, 25)—that the person who composed this biography intended his readers to identify himself with "the disciple whom Jesus loved," and both internal evidence and unbroken tradition point to John, the son of Zebedee, as this disciple. What, then, are we to believe? Was this man of piety and deep religious sentiment a forger and an imposter? In presence of this improbability all the discrepancies and difficulties relied on by thé other side shrink into insignificance. So argue apologists, and with perfect justice they present this consideration in the fore-front of their case. On the other hand, the destructive critics whose arguments we have been considering point to circumstances which in their opinion neutralize the force of this reasoning. It is for you, and for you solely, to judge whether or not the explanations so given are satisfactory and sufficient. These critics warn us against the danger of arguing from the standard of ethics which prevails to-day to that amid which the first Christian generations grew up: they insist that antiquity regarded it as not only a justifiable but a laudable proceeding to extend the aegis of a great and revered name over a system or a form of teaching. The

real author, argue these critics, would believe that he was honouring John by ascribing to him a work, which in the writer's judgment embodied the best possible interpretation of the significance of the life and work of Jesus, he was performing a task of which he was certain John would have approved ; and any confidants admitted to the secret of the origin of the book would have applauded the author for his self-sacrificing self-effacement, and would have rejoiced to see a precious work sanctioned by the name of an Apostle. In support of this contention we are referred to various undoubted instances of similar acts of self-suppression.

Without mentioning the much controverted case of the book of Daniel, it is undisputed that in the Wisdom of Solomon we have the work of a good man who assumes the name of the great King of Israel to enforce his teachings, and who for having done so is praised in the Muratorian Canon, one of the earliest productions of the post-apostolic epoch. The apocryphal book of Enoch, familiar to you through the reference made to it in the Epistle of Jude (v. 14), is another instance of a writing accepted as genuine by the whole Christian Church, and received without question by the writer of the Epistle, who has also made use (v. 9) of the Assumption of Moses, another spurious work. A more zealous and more pious Jew never lived than the author of the apocalypse of Esdras. And yet, this work, though professing to emanate from Esdras, an Israelitish exile living during the Babylonian captivity, is really the composition of some one who lived after the destruction of the temple, and who, to add more weight to his utterances, assigned them to a well-known and a highly revered co-religionist of the past. It is unnecessary to add to the list of similar forgeries with which every student of ecclesiastical literature is familiar. At the period of which we are now treating, pious men, so far from shrinking from the commission of such frauds, regarded them as praiseworthy, provided the religious lessons inculated were, in their judgment, edifying. Nor was the early Christian public—as we shall see hereafter—apt to be critical or to sift too closely a question of author-

ship, when a book of whose tenor it approved was ascribed to some well-known saint. These considerations tend to deprive the apologist argument, which I have stated, of some of its force.

The next point to which I must call your attention is the parallel which Dr. Salmon (Introduction to the New Testament, edition 1892, p. 4) draws between the evidence at our disposal as to the origin of the Gospels and the proof forthcoming to establish the genuineness of the Odes of Horace or the Annals of Tacitus. How, he asks, could any of us prove that Horace wrote the Odes called by his name, how refute the theory that the Annals were a forgery perpetrated by Poggio in the fifteenth century? Dr. Salmon's argument rests upon a sound basis, in so far as it goes to show the extreme cautiousness which we ought to exercise when examining a theory which proposes to set at naught the testimony of tradition: in such a case the onus of proof lies clearly and unmistakeably upon the person who assails the received account of a work, the presumption at starting being strongly against his theory. But the parallel which Dr. Salmon draws is an extremely misleading one. Horace was a fashionable court poet; he was, as his being selected to write the Secular Hymn proves, the Poet Laureate of his day; his works were read by a cultured literary public, and were looked forward to with as much anticipation as was a poem from Lord Tennyson among us. Tacitus was a member of the Roman aristocracy; his father had been procurator of Gallia Belgica (Pliny N. H. vii. 16); he himself rose to dignity under three successive Emperors (Hist. i. 1). He was joined with the younger Pliny in the most important prosecution of his day (Plin. Ep. ii. 11). His Histories are referred to by Tertullian (A.D. 195), and any one but a theorist will admit that only the author of the Histories could have written the Annals—two works which form the most precious legacy bequeathed to us by Latin Prose Literature. Far different is the case of our Gospels. Here we have works written by obscure writers for the benefit of a small, scattered, and unlearned society. Great as is the charm of our New Testament writings, few

of them (and certainly the Fourth Gospel is not among the number) can be deemed models of style—small effect would they have produced upon that public which read Tacitus with avidity. A point which is in itself certainly a strong one, and well deserves to be pressed home and to be considered as one of the elements of the case, has by Dr. Salmon been injured by over-statement and exaggeration.

Internal evidence as to the existence of the Four Gospels and their recognition in the early church as apostolic is of two sorts: explicit statements and citations. When a writer mentions the gospel of Matthew, we know that at the date when he composed his work, a biography was in circulation, whose claims to apostolic authorship were recognised by the authority with whom we are at the time dealing. When this occurs, and when we have determined the date of the composition so adduced in evidence, we know that the gospel so referred to must have been known to the church, and accepted by that section of it for which our witness speaks at the date of his work, unless upon the assumption that our present gospel is not the same as in the one mentioned by the author. This hypothesis, involving an unlikely substitution, is one which is on the first blush improbable, and which must be supported by considerable evidence before we can even admit it into the category of possible conjectures.

On the other hand, the antiquity of a gospel may be proved by quotations made from it in writings of admitted genuineness. The more numerous the citations, and the earlier the authors in whose works they occur, so much the stronger is the evidence they afford of the antiquity and consequent genuineness of the gospel under examination. The value which we would antecedently attach to such proofs is however impaired by two considerations: first, the inaccuracy of Patristic authors, and second, the existence of other possible sources besides those known to us. The scarcity of books, and the cumbrous shape in which they were published during the early centuries of our era rendered reference more difficult than it is to-day; the Christian Fathers, accordingly, when citing a verse or a

passage, content themselves with giving what seems to them to be the sense without troubling themselves as to mere verbal accuracy—a circumstance which frequently renders their quotations difficult to identify. Moreover, the existence of a large body of christian tradition, ascribing to Jesus sayings of which no record is to be found in our gospels, raises the question whether what seems to us a citation from one of the four biographies with which we are acquainted is not—especially when it does not correspond word for word with the language so familiar to us—to be attributed rather to that great floating mass of oral tradition, to which Papias declared that he ascribed more importance than to any written narratives, of whose existence we have so many proofs, than to the pages of any of our Four Gospels. When Justin Martyr, for example, represents Jesus on coming out of the Jordan after submitting to the rite of baptism as being addressed by a Heavenly Voice which exclaimed :—"Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee" (Dial. c. 88), we are left in doubt as to whether this author has intended a quotation from the Synoptic Evangelists, but has been guilty of a lapse of memory, or whether he has followed some ancient narrative to which we have not access. Similar uncertainty besets many citations and references, adding greatly to the difficulty which scholars to-day experience in judging of the value of the evidence at our disposal as to the date and the genuineness of the precious legacies of Infant Christianity, which we are now considering.

In reviewing the list of these writers who have mentioned the various Gospels by name, I shall not trouble you with any except such as are of sufficient antiquity to render their attestation of some value. Our investigation will be a good deal restricted in its scope and the wearisome reiteration of names which to many of you carry no meaning will be rendered less irksome if we grasp the almost universally admitted fact that the Four Gospels, in the form in which we possess them now, were known and accepted at the close of the second century. They had not as yet completely vanquished and driven all competitors out of the field, but this was the consummation to which

events were tending; the floating mass of traditional narrative with regard to the sayings and doings of Jesus had before this date crystalised into definite and unalterable form, the period of spontaneous creation had ceased and the stamp of canonicity had begun to be impressed upon those compositions which by virtue of their own intrinsic merits or their greater adaptation to the spiritual needs of believers had succeeded in gaining a preference over their rivals. The fact that Tertullian at Carthage, Clement at Alexandria, and Irenaeus at Lyons—writers widely separated in respect of space but contemporaneous—agree in receiving the Four Gospels as canonical, is universally and justly relied upon by apologists as constituting a strong evidence in favour of the soundness of their position. They draw our attention to the great antiquity of these writers (all of whom lived towards the conclusion of the second century), to their mutual independence, and to the exceptional opportunities which at least one of them—Irenaeus—is alleged to have possessed for forming a correct judgment upon the question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. How, urge apologists, could Irenaeus, pupil of Polycrap, who was himself a pupil of the Apostle John, have been in error as to whether the Gospel which was circulated under the name of this revered disciple had really emanated from his pen? The argument is a forcible one and if the chain of succession has been accurately stated, if only one intermediary separates Irenaeus from the Apostle, external evidence as to the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel has been carried the length of almost conclusive demonstration. Unfortunately, the premisses upon which this argument rests are of very doubtful certainty.

In a fragment of the writings of Papias (the most ancient of the post-apostolic Christian Fathers and one to whom we shall in future have occasion to make frequent reference) preserved for us by Eusebius (H. E. iii. 39), occurs the following remarkable statement :—"If ever anyone who had met the elders anywhere encountered me, I used to inquire into what the elders had said—what had been stated by Andrew, by Peter, by Philip, by Thomas, by

James, by *John*, by Matthew, or by any other of the disciples of the Lord, or the statements made at the present day by Aristion or *John the Elder*, those disciples of the Lord." Here we have, as plainly as words can speak, an intimation that Papias was aware of the existence of two persons bearing the name of John, both of whom were reverenced as authorities in the Church, and one of whom was his own contemporary. Is it possible that in this "John the Elder" we have the name of the real teacher of Polycarp, and that Irenaeus, having only enjoyed the intimacy of the Bishop of Smyrna when quite a boy, Polycarp being at the time far advanced in life, subsequently, when far removed from Asia Minor and separated by a long extent of years from the period of his youth, transferred what his master had told him of the traditions recounted to himself by the Presbyter to the other John, the well-known son of Zebedee? This suggestion derives undeniable support from the circumstance that Papias, though a most diligent collector of traditions concerning the Apostles and an intimate friend of Polycarp, makes no mention of John the Apostle as a resident in Asia Minor, as well as from the undoubted fact (recounted by Dionysius of Alexandria, Eusebius, and Jerome) that a tomb described as that of John the Elder existed at Ephesus, the very city in which ecclesiastical tradition represents the Apostle as having spent the last days of his life.

In the limits of space at my command it is impossible for me to give even an outline of the arguments adduced by Keim in support of the hypothesis that a confusion has taken place between the two personages here mentioned by Papias; I can only recommend all of you to consult the great work of this justly celebrated critic, Jesus of Nazara, Vol. I. pp. 218—226 (Williams and Norgate), and can safely assure you that whether you adopt his conclusions or reject them, you will be forcibly impressed and deeply interested by his reasons. I do not believe that many persons will concur with Dr. Salmon in his summary and contemptuous rejection of arguments which are in his opinion so weak that he has "not thought it worth while to discuss them" (Introduction to New Testament,

ed. 1892, p. 270). Before quitting this part of our subject, I may mention that Keim inclines to the opinion that in this John the Elder, himself a disciple of the Lord, we have the real author of the Gospel and the Epistles according to John—a hypothesis which derives some support from the circumstance that the author of the Second and Third of these Epistles which go under the name of John calls himself "the Elder," a designation never applied to the Apostle. In opposition to this hypothesis, however, we are confronted with the ignorance which Papias seems to show as to the existence of the Fourth Gospel—his acquaintance with the First Epistle being problematic, and only vouched for by Eusebius who does not give us the grounds on which he bases his judgment.

Assailants of the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel impugn the testimony of Clement, Tertullian, and Irenaeus on another ground. They point out the uncritical character of these writers' minds, and insist that if we urge their testimony as final upon this point, we must accept their conclusions with regard to other documents as to which they had equal opportunity for coming to a correct verdict, and which in spite of their acceptance have long been universally rejected as spurious.

The Shepherd of Hermas, a weak and superstitious though well meaning work, which we know to have been written about the middle of the second century, is by both Tertullian and Irenaeus ascribed without hesitation to that Hermas to whom Paul sends a greeting (Romans xvi. 14). Had this book, it may be urged, won the favour of the church and taken its place in the canon, how convincing would this acknowledgement have been regarded, and how sternly would those critics have been rebuked who had presumed to suggest that this so-called spurious book had first seen the light within the very lifetime of those whose testimony in its favour is so presumptuously set aside. Or if, argues Strauss, we are to acquiesce in the conclusion came to by Irenaeus as to the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, are we also to accept stories like the following bequeathed to us by the very same authority?—"The men of old who saw

John, the disciple of the Lord, remember to have heard from him how in those days the Lord taught and said, 'Days will come when vines shall grow each with 10,000 shoots, and to every shoot 10,000 branches, and to every branch 10,000 tendrils, and to every tendril 10,000 bunches, and to every bunch 10,000 berries, and every berry shall yield when pressed twenty-five measures (six puncheons) of wine. And if one of the saints grasp at such a bunch, another shall cry, I am a better bunch, take me, and through me praise the Lord. And in like manner shall a grain of wheat produce 10,000 ears, and every ear 10,000 grains, and every grain ten pounds of pure white meal; and the other fruits, seeds, and vegetables in like manner, &c., &c." (Adv. haer. v. 33, 3). If the testimony of Irenaeus, asks Strauss, is to be held conclusive with regard to the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel, are we to follow him in recognising this absurd tradition as a genuine specimen of the teaching of the beloved apostle? It is by arguments like these that the critics who deny the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel meet the evidence which its defenders adduce from the pages of Irenaeus, Clement, and Tertullian. The only other witness, whose evidence I shall trouble you with, is the celebrated Muratorian fragment. This document, which derives its name from Cardinal Muratori who discovered and deciphered it, distinctly refers the Fourth Gospel to John, one of the disciples ("Quarti euaneliorum. iohannis ex decipolis," *i.e.* "Quartum euangeliorum Johannis ex discipulis"), and gives an account of its composition. As this work cannot for internal reasons be ascribed to a date much later than 180 A.D., its evidence is of considerable importance, and serves to show that when it was compiled the "Gospel of John" was the regularly accepted term by which the fourth of our evangelical records was known.

The limited time at our disposal prevents me entering, as I should have wished to do, into the second class of external proof adduced by apologists in order to establish the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel—the evidence of citations from its pages made in the works of different second century writers. For the reasons already stated in

this lecture, these quotations do not convince us beyond the possibility of doubt that they have in reality been borrowed from the Gospels now in our possession. When, for instance, Justin Martyr, citing the work to which he always refers as an authority—the "Memories of the Apostles"—represents Christ as saying "except ye be born again, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven," it is possible that he is quoting from John iii. 3, "except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God"; but the inference cannot be pronounced a certain one in view of the fact that Justin undoubtedly makes use of sources of information to which we have no longer access —a circumstance which renders it possible that the similarity between any two passages may be due not to one writer having quoted from the other, but to both having made use of an expression, argument, or illustration drawn from the common stock of Christian tradition. It is unnecessary to mention that all such alleged quotations have furnished material for keen and sometimes acrimonious controversy. Keim draws our attention to the fact that the references to and citations from the Fourth Gospel became more frequent and more indisputable as the second century advances; that while Papias makes, as we have seen, no allusion to the Fourth Gospel and cannot be proved to have known of the First Epistle of John, while Justin Martyr and the Clementine Homilies rely far more on other sources and only refer to the Fourth Gospel timidly and rarely (if at all); later authorities, such as Tatian, the author of the "Diatessaron" or "Harmony" (for it is a mistake to imagine that this word carries with it the signification of four) and the Muratoran Canon, exalt the book to an equal or even superior rank to that occupied by the Synoptics, and that this process goes on uninterrupted through the pages of succeeding writers. This early hesitation and gradually increasing confidence, Keim ascribes to the late origin of the Gospel and the difficulty which it found in winning its way into public recognition, being for a considerable time looked on with suspicion even by authors who were in sympathy with its doctrinal teachings. Whether we accept this hypothesis

or not, we must admit that it receives support from the unquestioned rejection of the Gospel, faint echoes of which have come down to us. Irenaeus informs us (Adv. Haer. iii. 2, 9) that there were certain who did not accept the book as having emanated from John ; and at a later time Epiphanius, the ecclesiastical historian, mentions a sect to whom (Haeres. ii. 4, 18, 32) he gives the nickname of Alogi or "foolish" on account of their rejection of the Fourth Gospel, which they repudiated as well upon dogmatic grounds, as because in their judgment it was a "lying gospel." I do not think Dr. Salmon will find many to follow him in his unsupported conjecture that this sect of Alogi, smaller again than that which consisted of "Johnnie Dodds o' Farthing's Acre and one other that shall be nameless" comprised only one man (see Introduction to the New Testament, ed. 1892, p. 208). The argument in favour of the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel based upon a citation contained in the Philosophumena of Origen must with great reluctance be omitted, as too technical in its nature to interest a mixed audience.

There remains for discussion yet another topic of supreme importance—the bearing upon this controversy of the great Quarto-deciman dispute which raged so fiercely towards the latter part of the second century. Incomplete as our review of the evidence on the subject of the origin of the Fourth Gospel has been, confined as we are within the narrowest limits, it is impossible to pass over in silence a point whose importance as bearing upon the issue can hardly be overstated. Of course, in treating of the Quarto-deciman dispute, I cannot hope to enter upon an exhaustive discussion, or to do anything more than put you in possession of the main outlines of the arguments advanced by those who deny the Johannine authorship of our Gospel, and briefly to indicate to you the nature of the considerations relied upon by those who vindicate its genuineness. I shall, however, strive, as I have striven all along, to render my statement a fair though necessarily an incomplete one, and to say nothing which would produce a false impression upon the mind of any of my audience.

The celebrated Quarto-deciman dispute first originated about the year 160 A.D., when Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, then on a visit to Anicetus, Bishop of Rome, held a discussion with this prelate as to the proper day for the celebration of the Easter festival. The Church of Rome, in common with almost all the other churches of the Eastern and Western world, had adopted the custom which still survives to our day of eating the Easter banquet upon the Sunday of the Resurrection, thus altogether disconnecting the rite from the ancient Jewish Passover. On the other hand, the Asiatic churches, in imitation of the example of the Master who, as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels (see Matt. xxvi. 17, Mark xiv. 12, Luke xxii. 25), ate the Passover on the evening before his Crucifixion, adhered to the custom of celebrating the Easter supper on the day of the Jewish Passover—the 14th of the month Nisan on which this ancient festival always fell, whatever might be the day of the week. For this practice they claimed the authority of the apostles, *and particularly that of St. John*, and entitled their festival a "Passover of the Saviour." In a letter written by Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, to Victor, Bishop of Rome, in the generation succeeding that of Polycarp, he vindicates the Asiatic usage by appealing to all the great authorities of Christendom, to the Apostle Philip, to *John, fallen asleep at Ephesus, who lay on the Lord's bosom and bore the emblem of the high-priest's office*, and was a martyr and a doctor, as well as to other revered names; insisting that John, the disciple of the Lord, always kept it on that day (Eusebius V. 24, 16). You will remember that the statement is at variance with the narrative of the Fourth Gospel. In this biography Jesus does *not* eat the Passover with his disciples, but dies upon the very day upon which the feast is to be celebrated (John xviii. 28): the great aim of the writer seems to be to disconnect the final meal partaken by the Master and his disciples from all Jewish associations, and to represent Jesus as being the true Paschal Lamb, no bone of which was to be broken (see John xix. 36). But how can the writer of this Gospel, who so completely ignores the Jewish Passover, be

the same person as the Disciple John, upon whose example both Polycarp and Polycrates rely as their warrant for following a custom sanctioned in the Synoptics, but for which no justification is given in the Fourth Gospel which actually contradicts the tradition upon which it depends? The reply to this objection urged by apologist controversialists can best be stated in the words of Dr. Plummer. He says (Gospel according to St. John, edition 1886, p. 32):—"But this objection confuses two things, the Christian Passover or Easter and the Last Supper or institution of the Eucharist. The latter point was not in dispute at all. The question debated was whether the Christian Churches in giving the time of Easter were to follow the Jewish calendar exactly or a Christian modification of it. St. Polycarp claimed St. John as sanctioning the former plan, and nothing in the Fourth Gospel is inconsistent with such a view." But, possibly, many of you will consider the learned editor mistaken in this last statement when you remember that what Polycarp asserted John to have approved of, was the celebration of Easter on the same day as the Jewish Passover, on the ground of Christ's example, and because *he* had eaten for the last time with the disciples on the day for which the Asiatic Church contended—a view which certainly is at least apparently inconsistent with the narrative of the Fourth Gospel.

Baur, in his "Church History of the first three Centuries," quotes a fragment of Hippolytus which sets out beyond all possibility of mistake the ground upon which the followers of Polycarp based their practice. Into the mouth of a Quarto-deciman Hippolytus puts this argument: "What Christ did on that day was the Passover, and he suffered at that time. For this reason I likewise must do as the Lord did." On the other hand, Hippolytus states his own position thus: "As the Lord had already said that he would no more eat the Passover, he ate this meal before the Passover, but the Passover itself he did not eat; for it was not the time for him to eat it." Here we have the order of events as described in the Fourth Gospel, but this statement contradicts the narrative of the

Synoptic Evangelists, and is at variance with what tradition asserts to have been the teaching and the practice of the Apostle John. The whole question is indeed one fraught with difficulty ; and it cannot be said that Dr. Salmon's conjecture that the selection of their peculiar day by the Asiatic Church was not connected with the Jewish Passover (Introduction to the New Testament, ed. 1892, p. 249)—a theory utterly at variance with the adoption of the term Quarto-decimans to describe that party which adhering to apostolic tradition came ultimately to be branded as heretical, and refuted by the language of Hippolytus already quoted—has done much to shed light upon this obscure problem. From all points of view perplexities beset us. Those who deny the Johannine authorship of the Gospel are confronted with the difficulty of explaining how from the heart of the Asiatic Church sprang into light in the days of Trajan or of Hadrian a work at variance with its settled practice. Critics on both sides will do well, in the present limited state of our knowledge, to abstain from dogmatic assertion and to hope that further light may yet be shed upon a point which, though obscure, is deeply interesting and of primary importance.

I had hoped to have concluded this lecture by giving a short summary of the evidence we have been considering, so as to enable you to take it in as a whole, pressing again upon you the points relied upon by the contending critics. This, however, time fails me to do, and I have already, in a most unwarrantable degree, taxed your patience. Accordingly, with deep regret, I now quit the subject, conscious that in the contracted limits at my disposal I have presented a very meagre statement of the respective merits of the two sides in this great controversy. On both sides I have been compelled to pass over, or to glance briefly at points upon which I should gladly have dwelt. My great object has been attained, and the purpose of these lectures has been served if I have roused your interest sufficiently to induce you to investigate this subject more thoroughly, and if I succeed in dismissing you satisfied in your own minds that the problem *is* a difficult one, and that scholars who hold opinions upon it at variance with

those which you have been accustomed to entertain are not actuated of necessity by perversity on the one side or stupid bigotry upon the other. For myself, I may say that while, in common with what I presume to be your feeling, I am conscious of a strong wish to ascribe this beautiful Gospel to the most highly venerated source possible—a sentiment which renders complete impartiality difficult—it is to me a cause of deep gratification and unbounded gratitude that the book which we have been considering is one whose value as a spiritual interpretation of the nature of the work of Jesus can never be impaired. So long as the religion of Christ holds sway over men's minds, so long will the exhortations, the threats, and the promises of the Fourth Gospel be household words among us, rebuking vice, nerving us to braver endurance, and breathing into sorrowing, broken hearts the cheering influences of love and hope and faith.

LECTURE III.

In the first and second lectures of this series we considered together the evidence available, internal and external, as to the date and authorship of the Fourth Gospel. In these we were throughout engaged in the prosecution of one connected inquiry, and though our search led us into many side paths and involved much complication, one definite aim guided our steps along our whole career. The investigation upon which we are now to enter will prove at once less difficult and more involved. No single problem, surrounded with almost insuperable difficulties upon all sides, will henceforth tax our faculties and call our energies into play ; while, on the other hand, no connected chain of consecutive argument will bind these two lectures together as their predecessors were intertwined. The place of one great and momentous problem will be taken by a number of smaller issues, none rivaling or even approaching in magnitude the one which we have already discussed. My task in this and the succeeding lecture will be to place you in possession—in so far as the limits of time at my disposal enable me—of the best ascertained results arrived at by the various eminent critics who during the last sixty years have laboured to determine the authorship, the component elements, the respective priorities, and the mutual interdependence of those writings which scholars since the time of Griesbach have agreed to term Synoptic Gospels. So far as possible I shall here too follow the method already adopted, and shall draw your attention to matters arising from a perusal of the three gospels themselves before confronting you with the testimony of tradition with regard to them. Of course, the want of any strong connecting bond pervading this part of our subject and uniting in one whole, its several parts will render it more difficult to adhere to this order of arrangement and thoroughly to exhaust what is internal before proceeding to the external. This is, however, the

course which to the best of my power I shall labour to adopt.

It will be evident to the most perfunctory reader that the three Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, and Luke —to which the name Synoptic has been applied because of their taking a common view (σύνοψις) of the details of Christ's ministry—are connected together by a strong bond of union. They all agree in representing the public work of Jesus as having begun when John the Baptist was hurled into the dungeon of Machaerus, and they all place the scene of his earliest activity in Galilee. The same well-marked and clearly defined stages distinguish the record of the Master's labours in the pages of all three biographers. In all of them we find the earlier efforts of Jesus meeting with little opposition and rousing little antagonism; while, as time goes on, the storm of Pharisaic resentment lowers darker and ever darker over his head, rendering frequent withdrawals into privacy necessary for his safety. The great importance of the transaction at Caesarea Philippi, followed as it was by the transfiguration, is recognised by all the Synoptic writers, who agree in representing Jesus as having journeyed southward from this spot in order to observe the Passover rite at Jerusalem, where after a few days his public ministry is ended by the crucifixion. Not only are the incidents recorded the same in all three Gospels—a Galilaean ministry followed by a journey southward, one visit to Jerusalem terminating in condemnation—but the same style of narration is for the most part adopted. We have not in any of the Synoptic writers a formal and consecutive history; we are rather confronted in them all with a series of pictures with slight and often with no bonds of interdependence. Events are detailed without any attempt to determine the intervals of time which separated one from another; an exquisite vagueness in the transitions and chronological relations characterises the narratives alike of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. This indefiniteness has rendered it a matter of difficulty to determine the exact length of the ministry of Jesus as represented in the Synoptics; it is only by a brief incidental statement recorded in Luke—"the acceptable

year of the Lord" (Luke iv. 19), and by the question contained in the Clementine Homilies—"But how can any man be commissioned to the office of a teacher by a vision? And if thou sayest that it is possible, why did the teacher go constantly about *for a whole year* with men who were not dreaming but awake?" (Hom. xvii. 19) that we gather the fact that Christian tradition regarded the Master's teaching as having been prolonged through a whole year; were it not for these intimations, we should have been inclined to believe that a few months were sufficient for all the transactions recorded by the Synoptic Evangelists. The similarity between the different biographies extends even to verbal identity: the same narratives are often made use of by the various writers, and are frequently told in exactly the same language. The following table, set out in Westcott's "Introduction to the New Testament," p. 195, of the coincidences and peculiarities of the Four Gospels, shows how closely Matthew, Mark, and Luke are united, and how far they stand apart from the Fourth Gospel. Dividing each of the Gospels into 100 sections, he gives the result of a comparison of these sections thus:—

	Peculiarities.	Coincidences.
Matthew ...	42	58
Mark ...	7	93
Luke ...	59	41
John ...	92	8

Side by side with these coincidences there exist distinctive peculiarities separating the three Synoptic Gospels from one another. In each of the two longer biographies—Matthew and Luke—are to be found narratives evidently derived from some source to which the writer who records them had exclusive access. The story of the tribute money, for example, and the account of the borrowing of a watch from Pilate, are confined to Matthew's Gospel; while the precious parables of the good Samaritan, the prodigal son, the lost sheep, and the lost drachma—incomparably the most beautiful of the utterances ascribed to Jesus—are only to be met with in Luke. Even where

a common tradition has been followed, the greatest freedom in details characterises the treatment of the several evangelists. The same narrative appears in different connections, with different accessories, and with different *dramatis personæ*, modified and transfered to suit the purposes of the various biographers. For an example of an incident vouched for by three-fold tradition, I may refer you to the account of the Gadarean swine, given in Matthew viii. 28-34, Mark v. 1-15. Luke viii. 26-37. You will see, if you follow these passages attentively, that while the great moral lesson conveyed in the story—the victory of the religion of Jesus over the impure cults of heathendom—is brought into unmistakeable prominence by all the evangelists, they have dealt with the details of this remarkable story with great freedom, and that their several narratives are not servile copies one of the other. It will be our duty at a later period during these lectures to mention some of the discrepancies (real or alleged) as to matters of fact between the histories of the various Synoptic evangelists. At present, I merely refer you to the stories of the birth of Jesus as contained in Matthew and in Luke respectively, which most critics maintain to be inconsistent with one another, and to the account of the Master's last journey up to Jerusalem, which in Matthew and Mark is represented as lying through Peraea, on the eastern bank of the Jordan, while Luke conducts the band through the country of the Samaritans (Matthew xix. 1, Luke ix. 52). Instances such as those cited of discrepancies in the various Synoptic Gospels are relied upon as showing that in addition to the mass of two-fold tradition, common to the writers of them all, there was a large stock of information peculiar to each separate author, and that even the common element is treated with a freedom which negatives the idea of servile copying. Into this argument we must enter more fully at a later stage of this inquiry.

Before giving a short resumé of the arguments advanced by critical scholars in defence of the antiquity and superior credibility of the Gospels which they severally favour, it is advisable to familiarize ourselves with some of the distinctive peculiarities by which these Gospels are severally

characterised, confining our attention to those which appear on the face of their narratives. We shall thus be in a position better to estimate and give due weight to the various arguments which we are hereafter to consider. Matthew is, in the first place, even to the most careless reader, distinguished from his fellow biographers by the more strongly marked Jewish character of his narrative. Jerusalem is for its author "the holy place," "the holy city" (Matthew iv. 5, xxiv. 15); the sacred college of the twelve disciples are the only authorised missionaries, and their preaching is to be addressed to their fellow-countrymen exclusively (Matthew x. 5). From the point of view of the first evangelist, the coming of Jesus has relaxed in no respect the authority of the Mosaic code; till heaven and earth pass away, one iota or one pen-stroke of the law is not to become obsolete (Matthew v. 17-18). The leper, when cured of his loathsome disease, is commanded to offer "as a testimony" the gift which Moses (see Leviticus xiv. 10-21) had commanded after submitting himself to the inspection of the priest (Matthew viii. 4): the Scribes and Pharisees are rebuked as having made "the law of God of none effect" through distinctions which cause its real spirit to evaporate in subtleties (Matthew xv. 3-9). Even the preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles is not to impair in any respect the privileges of the legitimate sons of Abraham. The woman of Canaan gains her request, and extorts her daughter's cure by virtue of a humble acknowledgment of inferiority—like a dog she must be content to come and eat of the crumbs which fall from her master's table (Matthew xv. 22-28). This is very far indeed from the Pauline position, and from the teaching which maintains that the partition wall between Jew and Gentile has been once and for ever broken down. It is true that on this matter the first evangelist is apparently at issue with himself; the servant of the centurion is healed at once, and no contemptuous refusal at the outset tries the faith of this petitioner (Matthew viii. 5-13). Keim attempts to explain this contradiction by assuming a development in the religious consciousness of Jesus in the direction of increased liberality. Such a

suggestion is, however, negatived by the fact of the incident of the centurion's servant preceding instead of following that of the Canaanitish woman in the evangelist's narrative ; and the improbability with which it is surrounded is heightened when we recollect that the prohibition to go into Samaria addressed to the disciples (Matthew x. 5-6) comes after the explicit prediction of the calling of the Gentiles (Matthew viii. 11-12). A more probable solution of the difficulty is that we have in the two conflicting narratives evidence of the distinction between two different periods and degrees of development in infant Christianity; that the Gospel of Matthew, as we possess it, represents a composite work, and has undergone revision at the hands of a later editor. Another peculiarity of the First Gospel, arising out of and connected with the Jewish atmosphere which impregnates it, is the frequency of allusions to and quotations from the Old Testament. That Jesus was indeed the Messiah foretold in the writings of the prophets is the evangelist's firm conviction, and he seizes every possible opportunity for proving his case by citations from sacred literature. It is noteworthy, too, that Matthew's mode of quotation varies—that he follows sometimes the original Hebrew, and sometimes the Septuagint translation. The celebrated citation from Isaiah vii. 14, "Behold a virgin shall conceive and be with child," must have been made from the Septuagint, inasmuch as the original Hebrew would not have served the narrator's purpose, the word which is translated "virgin" meaning only "young woman."

It has been observed that while the Evangelist in such quotations as are to be found in his objective narrative has contented himself with making use of the words of the Greek translator, he has in his subjective comments resorted to the Hebrew. Such variations of method, inexplicable in a single author, are intelligible if we assume a first and a second edition of the work. But, through the whole biography appears the tendency to introduce Old Testament quotations on all possible occasions, and to apply to Christ whatever can in any way be made even apparently to serve the author's purpose. The opening

chapters of the Gospel display this feature in a very striking form. The words of the prophet Hosea (xi. 1)—"when Israel was a child then I loved him, and I called my son out of Egypt"—are by the First Evangelist actually referred to the bringing up of the child Jesus from Egypt to Nazareth (Matthew ii. 15). The pathetic language in which Jeremiah describes the sorrow and distress which accompanied the forcible removal of the people of Jerusalem to Babylon (Jeremiah xxxi. 15), is by our author represented as a prediction of a massacre which excited so little attention that no other historian of the first three centuries has designed to refer to it or to enumerate it among the misdeeds of Herod (Matthew ii. 17, 18). Finally, in the last words of chapter ii., occurs mention of a prophecy which is nowhere to be found throughout the pages of the New Testament. A similar desire to found the Messianic claims of Jesus upon prophetic attestation is displayed through the whole biography. The beautiful custom prevalent among the Jewish women of bringing drugged wine to the foot of the cross, in order that by drinking a narcotic, the unfortunate victims of this most odious form of execution might be partially stupified, and might escape at least some of their agonies, is by Matthew represented as an aggravation of the sufferings of Jesus, and a fresh infliction of cruelty. This deviation from what we know from Mark (Mark xv. 22) to have been the real nature of the potion offered to Jesus just before the crucifixion is due to the the author's anxiety to see in the vinegar and gall a fulfilment of the Psalmist's language—"For my good they gave me gall, and in my thirst they gave me some wine" (Psalm lxix. 21; Matthew xxvii. 34). One of the most remarkable examples which we possess of Matthew's fondness for Old Testament quotation, and of the strictness with which he follows his original, is afforded us by the use which he makes of a passage in Zechariah. This prophet had written:—

> Tell ye the daughter of Zion
> Behold, thy King cometh unto thee,
> Meek, and sitting upon an ass,
> And on a colt the foal of an ass (Zech. ix. 9).

In the two concluding lines of this extract we have an instance of the Hebrew usage, with which all students of Old Testament literature are so familiar, of giving emphasis to the meaning by repeating in a second line the thought of the first, with a very slight variation in the words. Of course, it is obvious that by "the ass" and "the colt the foal of an ass" the same animal is meant; and in Mark (xi. 2) and Luke (xix. 30), both of whom see in the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem a fulfilment of this prediction, no mistake is made as to the true meaning of the prophet's words. But Matthew, in his anxiety to represent events as taking place in exact and literal harmony with what he takes to be the meaning of the language, actually represents Jesus as riding into the city sitting both on the ass and on the colt—"And [the disciples] brought the ass and the colt, and put upon them their clothes and seated him upon them" (ἐπάνω αὐτῶν—Matthew xxi. 7).

Another quotation, scarcely less interesting, is to be found in Matthew xxvii. 9, 10, where the words of Zechariah (erroneously ascribed by the Evangelist to Jeremiah), describing how he cast the thirty pieces of silver given him as wages into the treasury, are applied to the price which Christian tradition represents as having been paid to Judas for his perfidy. The Evangelist, however, misunderstanding his original, has translated the word *hajozar* "treasury" as if it were *hajozer* "potter" (κεραμεὺς), and has thus destroyed the meaning of the passage. This citation is referred to by many critics as an example of the carelessness with which the Evangelist made his quotations, and the little trouble which he took to verify them. The intensely Jewish spirit which pervades the Gospel according to Matthew, and the extent to which it depends upon Old Testament literature, has led some critics to see in the celebrated parable of the tares, which is contained in the First Gospel alone, a censure upon the opinions taught by Paul and the disciples of his school. The weeds and the crop all to grow together until the harvest, and in like manner till Messiah's Second Advent his true and his spurious followers may

divide between them the field of Christian labour. The use of the word "enemy" (ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος—Matthew xiii. 28)—which we know from the Clementine Homilies to have been the epithet applied to Paul by the Judaeo-Christians—lends to this suggestion some measure of plausibility ; nevertheless, I do not think that I will be departing from the impartial attitude which I have striven to maintain throughout these lectures if I express my belief that this opinion is rather a fanciful one. With more justice, as it seems to me, might the parable of the labourers in the vineyard (Matthew xx. 1—17) be considered applicable to Paul, who entering on the field of Christian labour at a late hour, would naturally be exposed to many envious criticisms and to much jealous detraction.

A better-established and a more clearly marked characteristic of the First Gospel is its fondness for couplets and for numerical proportion. We read in its pages of two cures of two blind men ; of two cures of a demoniac ; of two multiplications of bread ; of two demands for a sign from heaven ; of two sentences condemning divorce. That school of Jewish thought which saw in numbers a sacred virtue, and which carried its speculations to such an extreme length in the writings of the Cabbalists, has moulded to some extent the narrative of the First Gospel. The idea that history is governed by the law of numbers is not indeed so predominant in the first Evangelist as it is in some subsequent Christian authors versed in the learning of the Scribes. The epistle of Barnabas, for instance, sees in the 318 followers of Abraham who were subjected to circumcision (Genesis xvii. 27, xiv. 14) a type of Christ—the figure 18 standing for Jesus and 300 being the symbol of the cross, according to certain calculations for which I must refer you to the work itself (epistle of Barnabas, c. ix). Though Matthew does not carry this peculiar doctrine to the same length, traces of its influence can be discovered in his biography. In his genealogy, the number of generations from Abraham to David is given as fourteen (7 + 7), the number from David to the Captivity and from that period till the birth of Christ

being also each fourteen (7 + 7). We find the connection of the narrative broken in five places by long discourses, after each of which the thread of the story is taken up again with the words—"And it came to pass that when Jesus had ended this discourse" (vii. 28, xi. 1, xiii. 53, xix. 1, xxvi. 1). The first of these compilations is what Christendom has agreed in calling the "Sermon on the Mount," and its completion is followed by the narration of exactly ten miracles, so selected that we are furnished with one example of each class of miracle ascribed to Jesus (viii. 1—ix. 34). This regularity and symmetry, while giving to the Gospel a completeness and a finish in which Mark is singularly deficient, must impair our confidence in its historic accuracy. Jesus can never have delivered the series of unconnected maxims and exhortations known as the "Sermon on the Mount" consecutively, nor can the seven woes denounced against the "Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites" in chapter xxiii. all have been spoken upon one occasion. We have here artistic groupings conceived in the interest of dramatic effect, and it is this studious care in the arrangement of details which distinguishes, as we shall see hereafter, Matthew from his fellow-Evangelist Mark. In the pages of the one we have a forest where the trees grow in natural disorder: the biography of the other resembles rather a nursery garden, where the same plants and trees are set in carefully measured rows and at clearly defined intervals. Other peculiarities distinguishing Matthew from the remaining Synoptic Evangelists will be treated of when we come to consider the arguments adduced to prove the priorities of the various Gospels.

Very different are the peculiar characteristics which distinguish the Third Gospel, which tradition has ascribed to Luke, the friend and fellow-labourer of Paul. In this work we see the complete detachment of the Christian branch from the Jewish stem on which it had originally been grafted. While the author's mind is deeply imbued with Old Testament literature, he, like the great Apostle of the Gentiles, regards the Law simply as a paedagogus to bring the world to Christ the true teacher. In Matthew,

Jesus is pre-eminently the "Son of David"; and to Abraham, the ancestor of the Jewish people, his pedigree is traced: in Luke he is the Saviour of the World, the very Son of God; and no genealogy contents the author of the Third Gospel which does not trace his descent from the father of the human race. Here we meet with no stories such as that of the Canaanitish woman; no rebuffs are administered to non-Israelitish applicants for the Master's favour: in the very first public utterance of Jesus in the synagogue of Nazareth, to which town Matthew and Mark bring him at a later period of his ministry (see Matthew xiii. 53-58; Mark vi. 1-6), the key-note of the whole Gospel is struck. Exclusive national privileges belong to the past: the good Samaritan stands in forcible contrast to the selfish priest. The Master passes through Samaria (ix. 1—xviii. 14—a passage the larger part of which is peculiar to Luke's Gospel), and thereby affords a warrant for the labours of Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles. The primacy of Peter, so emphatically acknowledged in Matthew (Matthew xvi. 18), is completely ignored in Luke. A solemn protest is entered by an Evangelist against the doctrine that only the Twelve were the lawfully accredited preachers of Christian truth: he tells us (and the incident is one peculiar to Luke) of the mission of the Seventy and of the success which attended their labours (Luke x. 1-17). In harmony with the spirit of cosmopolitanism which pervades Luke's Gospel is the tender sympathy which it never fails to show for the poor and the fallen. With great justice has an eminent critic observed that it is the most beautiful book in existence, that the pleasure which the author must have had in writing it will never be understood (Renan, "Origins of Christianity," Vol. V., ch. xiii.). In his hands the sayings of Jesus breathe a spirit of unique long-suffering and forbearance: the unfruitful tree is to have yet another chance, Heaven rejoices more over one penitent sinner "than over ninety and nine just persons who need no repentance" (Luke xv. 7). In Matthew and Mark, the two thieves crucified along with Jesus join in mocking and reviling him (Matthew xxvii. 44; Mark xv. 32); Luke, by a touch of exquisite beauty and fidelity to the

highest principles of art, has enshrined the penitent thief forever in Christian recollection. The Third Gospel is pre-eminently the Gospel of the publican and the sinner, the harlot and the thief; to all that numerous class who lie under Society's ban the heart of the biographer overflowed with love and sympathy. This feeling manifests itself also in that dislike of riches in themselves which is so strongly marked a characteristic of Luke's writings. Critics are probably correct in referring this antipathy to an Ebionitish source, and in finding here traces of Jewish influences in the Third Gospel. According to the Ebionites, Satan is the king of this world, and he gives its good things to his followers, while Jesus is prince of the world to come. Participation in the wealth of this world is enough to exclude from the blessings of the future kingdom. Dives in the parable is not a wicked man, he is simply "a rich man," nor is Lazarus extolled as a saint — poverty is the virtue of the one, wealth the crime of the other (Luke xvi. 19-31). This antipathy to wealth and exaltation of poverty is clearly brought out in some sayings attributed to Jesus, of which we find a more accurate report in the First Gospel:—"Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God. Blessed are ye that hunger now, for ye shall be filled" (Luke vi. 20-21; compare Matthew v. 3-6). It is "the poor, the maimed, the halt, and the blind" who are to possess exclusively the glories of the kingdom (Luke xiv. 21). Luke's peculiar views on the subject of property are brought into special prominence in the parable of the unfaithful steward—one whose moral has long perplexed theological critics (Luke xvi. 1-8). If the arrangement of matter in the Third Gospel is not as symmetric as that of the First, this defect is more than compensated for by the beauty and purity of its style, which is free from the Hebraisms which jar upon classical scholars so frequently in their perusal of Matthew and Mark. The vulgar word κράββατος—which is merely the Latin grabatus (for which see Catullus x. 22, &c.) written in Greek characters—employed by Mark in his narrative of the paralytic (Mark ii. 1-12), and used in the Fourth Gospel

(John v. 8), is avoided altogether by Luke in recounting a similar incident (Luke v. 17-26). The artistic groupings, which are a special feature of this Gospel, and which have for so long afforded material to painters, go to support the tradition that the author of the Third Gospel was himself an artist. The beautiful canticles which Christendom has so long loved to sing, and which are peculiar to the Third Gospel—the *Benedictus*, the *Magnificat*, and the *Nunc dimittis*—testify to the high culture and literary appreciation of the author who composed, or the compiler who adopted, them. That Luke was a man of superior attainments and of a width of intellectual horizon extending beyond that of his fellow evangelists, is evidenced by the fact that he alone of all the Synoptics sees the necessity of giving the date of the ministry of Jesus by reference to contemporary history. Though this is done in an unsatisfactory manner—a wrong date being given for the governorship of Quirinus (Luke ii. 2) and for the reign of Lysanias, "the tetrarch of Abilene" (Luke iii. 1)—the attempt shows that this author had a higher historical ideal before his eyes than had either of his fellow-biographers. Nor is Luke's reputation as a scholar and a man of culture impaired by the ignorance of Jewish history and customs which critics allege against him.

It is true that he speaks of Annas and Caiaphas as both being high-priests (Luke iii. 2) in the year during which John the Baptist came forth to preach (28 A.D.)—though Annas had been deposed from his office in 14 A.D.—and that he certainly appears to believe that the little Galilaean town of Nain is situated in Judaea (Luke vii. 11-17). The geographical details of the journey from Caesarea Philippi through Samaria are all in confusion. Jericho, through which Jesus is made to pass (Luke xix. 1), lay quite out of the way of one who had not chosen the Peraean route; the description of Arimathaea as a "city of the Jews" is one of the vaguest character (Luke xxiii. 51); and the "village called Emmaus," which the writer speaks of as distant from Jerusalem about sixty stadioi (*i.e.*, $6\frac{39}{44}$ miles, taking the stadion as equal to 202 English yards), cannot be satisfactorily identified. Dr. Hookyaas,

indeed, believes that we have here an instance of a Galilaean legend transferred to Jerusalem, and suggests that the original scene of the apparition was Emmaus, a bathing-place upon the sea of Gennezareth (Bible for Young People, Vol. vi., p. 142, Wicksteed's translation). It is fair to mention, however, that Professor Holtymann, in his Commentary on Luke xxiv. 13, states that a village called Emmaus is pointed out at a distance of about seven miles in a western direction from Jerusalem (Schmidt & Holzendorff, Protestant Commentary on the New Testament). Whatever may the truth as to this instance of alleged ignorance, the admission of inaccuracies in the other geographical and historical statements referred to, cannot fairly be imputed as a grave fault to Luke, in view of the utter contempt with which educated men of his own generation were wont to regard Hebrew literature and history. In the fragment of the Fifth Book of the Histories of Tacitus which remains to us (v. 2-5), we see clearly how little study the cultured Roman aristocrat, who displays such an intelligent interest in the customs of the German tribes, has deigned to bestow upon the Old Testament. The contrast between Tacitus and Luke (whose name Lucanus seems to connect him either by birth or by adoption with the family of the poet, M. Annaeus Lucanus) is all in favour of the Evangelist, whose introduction shows that he has thoroughly imbibed the spirit of Old Testament poetry. His book is a Gentile Gospel written by a Gentile ; and in ascribing the work to a companion of Paul the ancient Church showed a clear appreciation of its spirit and design. It only remains to add that, besides the Ebionitish hatred of riches already mentioned, many indications go to prove that among the sources made use of by the author of the Third Gospel there must have been, at least, one Jewish document. While the key-note of the book is struck in the account given of the scene in the Synagogue at Nazareth (Luke iv. 16-30), while the desciples when despatched upon their mission are bidden by the Master to forget their scruples as to clean and unclean meats (Luke x. 8), Jesus is yet represented as saying that it is "easier for heaven and earth

to pass away than for one pen-stroke (μίαν κεράιαν) of the Law to fail (Luke xvi. 17). The evident inconsistency existing between this statement and the one contained in the verse immediately preceding—"The Law and the prophets were until John"—is best to be explained by admitting the employment by the Evangelist of two different sources. No student of our gospel can entertain any doubt as to which sentiment expresses the true views of the author.

A very few words indeed will suffice for the enumeration of the distinctive peculiarities separating Mark from his fellow-evangelists. Indeed, about thirty verses will contain all which he has said, and which is not to be found in either Matthew or Luke. It must, of course, be remembered that the Second Gospel has not come down to us in a complete form—the present conclusion being apparently a later addition. So far as we can judge from the evidence afforded us by chapter xvi. 7, Mark in his account of the Resurrection followed Matthew, who represents all the appearances of Jesus to his disciples as having taken place in Galilee (Matt. xxviii. 16,) in preference to Luke who confines them exclusively to Jerusalem and its vicinity. The verses which stand at present in our Bibles as the closing ones of the gospel (xvi. 9-20) besides being inconsistent with verse 7, are a tame and lifeless compression of Luke's narrative and Matthew's farewell address, and stand in marked contrast to the vigour and energy which pervade the undisputed portion of the biography. The cure of the deaf man with an impediment in his speech (Mark vii. 32-37), and that of the blind man at Bethsaida (Mark viii. 22-26), are almost the only incidents of importance contained in this gospel which are not to be found in either Matthew or Luke. In connection with these two miracles, we may fitly observe that one of the peculiarities by which the Second Gospel is distinguished from the First and Third is the adoption of external means to supplement the command—in both of them Jesus uses spittle. Perhaps you will permit me with all reverence to call your attention to the similarity between this method of treatment and that adopted by the Emperor Vespasian in the miracles

which he is credited with having performed at Alexandria. A blind man, inspired by Serapis with the hope of thus recovering his sight, grovels at Vespasian's feet, praying him to rub with spittle his cheeks and eye-balls, and a paralytic begs that the Emperor may set his foot upon him. In both cases the historian assures us that the remedy was effectual, adding that the miracle was vouched by the evidence of eye witnesses, who adhered to their testimony long after all interested motives had ceased to operate. ("Utrumque, qui interfuere, nunc quoque memorant, postquam nullum mendacio pretium." Tacitus, Histories iv. 81.) I must beg you to remember that in adducing this parallel I am not in any way to be taken as giving expression to any opinion as to the sufficiency or inadequateness of the evidence at our disposal to establish this or any other miracle: such an enquiry would be far outside the scope of these lectures, whose work is exclusively educational, and not at all controversial. Another peculiarity of Mark's gospel is its frequent employment of Aramaic words, which he is always careful to translate, proving that the book was not originally written for the use of the natives of Palestine. Such expressions as *Boanerges* (iii. 17), *Ephthatha* (vii. 34), *Talitha cumi* (v. 41), *Corban* (vii. 11), and *Abba*, Father, are peculiar to Mark among the evangelists.

Several indications go to prove that this biography was written at Rome, as ecclesiastical tradition asserts. The use of what are merely Latin words written in Greek characters, such as κράββατος already mentioned, κεντυρίων, instead of the proper Greek equivalent ἑκατόναρχος, κῆνσον, tribute, instead of φόρον, and Πραιτώριον, seem to point to a Western origin, and to a circle of readers whose speech was greatly adulterated with Latin ingredients. But, as the last two of these words are also to be found in the First Gospel, a more certain indication of the place where our biography was composed is to be found in chapter x. verse 12. Here we have ascribed to Jesus the sentiment that a woman putting away her husband is guilty of adultery—a statement of a case which never occurred, and could not possibly occur under Jewish law, but which was

of lamentable frequency in Roman society. In the same way, the detailed account of the Pharisaic custom contained in vii. 4, would have been wholly unnecessary had the book been originally composed to meet the wants of persons living in the Holy Land. These two verses, both peculiar to Mark, are eloquent as to the birth-place of the Second Gospel; and their testimony is confirmed by the statement, found in this work alone, that Simon of Cyrene was "father of Alexander and Rufus" (xv. 21), persons who must have been well known in the community for whom the book was written, and one of whom in all probability is referred to in the Epistle to the Romans xvi. 13—"Salute Rufus in the Lord, and her who is his mother and mine."

Another argument in favour of the claim of Rome to be regarded as the birth-place of the Second Gospel is afforded us by the circumstance that it was within its limits that a Catholic Church, combining in itself all the best elements of Judaeo-christianity and Paulinism, and equally removed from the extremes of both, first came into existence. Of such a body the work under review at present may, with peculiar fitness, be deemed the Manifesto. Mark stands in his attitude to the Jewish Law in a position equally removed from that of Matthew and of Luke, or rather seems to advocate a system of Judaeo-christian Paulinism. He is not so insistent upon the perpetual obligation of the Mosaic code as is the author of the First Gospel, not so contemptuously indifferent to the Gentiles; to him as to the Fourth Evangelist, the Israelitish people are "the Jews." His references to the Old Testament are rare; he dwells frequently upon attacks made by Jesus upon national institutions—wine-skins of sacrifice, the sabbath, the marriage law—and records slighting allusions to the venerable Temple itself. The contrast between the spirit in which the biographies of Matthew and of Mark are written is well exemplified by the two parallel passages Matt. xix. 3-9, xxiv. 20, and Mark x. 2-5. xiii. 18. In the former instance, it is the Pharisees whom the First Evangelist represents as bringing forward a Mosaic precept, and relying upon its authority to confute the views enunciated by Jesus on the subject of marriage, while in Mark it is

Jesus himself who distinctly challenges comparison between his system and that of the great national lawgiver—"What did Moses command you?" The second example cited brings into prominence the vastly superior estimate formed by the First Evangelist of the sanctity of the sabbath day over that of his fellow-biographer. Mark is not, on the other hand, in complete accord with Luke. To him, the Jew occupies a position in God's favour higher than that accorded to the Gentile (Mark vii. 26-29): the Law of Moses is not repealed, the principles of eternal obligation which underlie it are epitomised, and the scribes declaration that love to God and love to man are vastly more important than all holocausts and sacrifices wins for him the emphatic commendation of the Master (Mark xii. 28-34, verses 32-34 being peculiar to Mark). The Temple is, as Isaiah (lvi. 7) has called it "a house of prayer for all nations" (Mark xi. 17): it shrinks from contact with "the abomination of desolation" (Mark xiii. 14). He is an uncompromising foe to all particularism—knows nothing of one law for Gentiles and another for sons of Abraham, recognises only one code of universal applicability, spiritual and non-ceremonial in its character. The position occupied by Mark with respect to the great controversy by which infant christianity was disturbed, is thus more difficult of definition than is that of either Matthew or Luke—most critics have ranked him among liberal Judaeo-christians, while others have seen in him a pulpit of Paul.

This neutral attitude forms the basis upon which is reared the hypothesis, favoured by so many critics, that in Mark we have a compilation from the pages of Matthew and of Luke. "A divine abbreviator" is the title with which ecclesiastical tradition honours Mark: the less complimentary designation "crop fingered" (κολοβοδάκτυλος) as applied to the Second Evangelist, has been preserved for us by Hippolytus (Hipp. Phil. 7, 30). Advocates of this view see in the very brevity of the gospel a proof of its late origin: it has left out everything which would have jarred upon the feelings of Pauline or of Jewish Christians. To avoid giving offence to Jews, it has omitted the whole story of the supernatural birth of Jesus; in

deference to Gentile susceptibilities, it contains no prohibition forbidding the disciples to turn to the Gentiles and Samaritans, no promise that they shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel. Everywhere, when a Judaising feature is left out, a catholic one is given up too. This theory of the composite nature and late origin of Mark's Gospel is set out with great fulness in Keim's pages. He insists that in the first of his two main divisions—viz., up to the death of the Baptist, and the feeding of the five thousand—the Second Evangelist has followed Luke's arrangement ; in the latter portion of his narrative has gone on Matthew's lines. For example, in the very first chapter, are contained some of the highest of the utterances ascribed to Jesus, the concourse of people is boundless, and his adversaries even at that early date desire to put him to death. All this agrees with the representations of Luke, who makes Jesus strike the keynote of his whole ministry, and advance his highest claims on the occasion of his first public appearance at Nazareth. Matthew, on the other hand, traces a gradual development in the disciples' recognition of their Master's authority and the claims advanced by Jesus on his own behalf.

In the First Gospel, the thrilling description of the dramatic incident at Caesarea Philippi marks the culminating point to which the whole previous narrative has been tending : the absence of any such series of gradually ascending self-consciousness on the part of Jesus, and recognition from his disciples, deprive this occurrence in Mark's narrative of much of the importance which Matthew attaches to it. Moreover, while the First Gospel dates the first prediction made by Jesus of his own violent death from this period, and represents him as henceforth warning his disciples of the tragic end for which he is destined—"*From that time forth* began Jesus, &c., &c." (Matt. xvi. 21)—Mark, following almost the very words of Luke, simply says :—"*And* he began to teach them that the son of man must first suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders and of the chief priests and scribes, and be killed" (Mark viii. 31)—a difference which is indeed highly significant, though some of you may be of opinion that

it makes against Keim's theory, and that the less artistic form of the narrative is likely to be the more ancient. Many critics, whose opinions merit careful consideration, refuse to accept this theory of the composite nature of the Second Gospel. They point to the difficulty which would beset any writer who even in the present day sat down to compose a history, making use of two previous works and adopting words and phrases from them both alternately. Dr. Carpenter in his book entitled "The First Three Gospels, their Origin and Relations," ed. 1890, page 271, selects the parallel passages Mark xi. 2, 3, Matthew xxi. 2, 3, and Luke xix. 30, 31, and by placing these side by side shows the difficulty under which the writer of the Second Gospel would have laboured, had he adopted this plan in the composition of his biography. We certainly would not expect to find in a book constructed upon this artificial plan any of that energy and vigour which undoubtedly characterise the Second Gospel. Few of us, I believe, will concur in the estimate of Schwegler, indorsed by Strauss ("New Life of Jesus," Vol. I., p. 170, Williams and Norgate), that in Mark's Gospel we have a "flat and pointless performance with no character at all": the work will appear to most of us far too graphic and vigorous to have been the product of paste-pot and scissors. We have a specimen of genuine piece work, epitomised from Matthew and Luke in the last twelve verses of the Second Gospel: the contrast between this lifeless condensation and the rest of the biography is the best evidence against the hypothesis to which Griesbach, Baur, Strauss, and Keim have given their support. I regret that the limits of time within which we are confined prevent me from entering into a detailed statement of the arguments on both sides of this interesting controversy.

Before bringing this lecture to a close, it is necessary to place you in possession of one or two of the leading arguments relied upon by the two schools of critics who contend for the priority of Matthew and of Mark respectively. In support of Matthew's claim, a very forcible argument is to be found in the use of the word "immediately" in the apocalyptic prediction inserted in

chapter xxiv.—" *Immediately* after the tribulation of those days, shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give forth her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of heaven shall be shaken " (Matt. xxiv. 29). It is simply incredible that the author of the First Gospel could have lived after the destruction of Jerusalem and yet should have foretold the end of the world " immediately " after this event, and it is noteworthy that in the parallel passage which occurs in Mark this tell-tale word is omitted (Mark xiii. 24). Another intimation of an early date is afforded by the mention of the tribute-money which Matthew alone among the Evangelists represents Jesus as paying in order to avoid offence (Matt. xvii. 24-27). As the temple-tax was by Vespasian transferred to Jupiter Capitolinus in the year 71 A.D., it is impossible to believe that a devout Jew like the author of the First Gospel would after this date have sanctioned submission to an impost which was to be devoted to the maintenance of idolatry. On the other hand, the Second Gospel contains expressions and allusions which point to a late publication—the use of the term " gospel " in such phrases as " for my sake and the gospel's " (Mark viii. 35), where the parallel passage in Matthew (xvii. 25) simply runs " for my sake " would seem to show that the Second Gospel was written at a time when an organized system of christian teaching had come into existence and was making headway in the world. (Compare Mark x. 29, 30 with Matthew xix. 29, noting the use of the words " persecutions " and " and the gospel's " in the former and their absence in the latter passage.)

Against these arguments and many others of equal cogency which might be enumerated, did time permit, the advocates of the priority of the Second Gospel have adduced numerous proofs, equally well deserving of attention in defence of their contention. The very absence of symmetry and artistic grouping of events to which we have already referred is relied on as in itself a proof of antiquity. Many statements which in Matthew are softened down and rendered less startling appear in all their primitive crudness in Mark. It is impossible to believe that

such a sentence as the following could have been written as late as 100 A.D.—the date which Keim ascribes to the Second Gospel—"And he (*i.e.* Jesus) could do there no mighty work, &c." (Mark vi. 5). No compiler editing a Life of Christ, at a time when the popular view as to the dignity of the Master's nature had risen to the height which it had attained at the close of the First Century would have hazarded such a statement, especially if he had enjoyed the opportunity of perusing the parallel passage in Matthew—"And he did not many mighty works there because of their unbelief" (Matt. xiii. 58). The omission in the First Gospel of all reference to the anxiety which Mark declares that the relatives of Jesus entertained as to his sanity, and their desire to put him under restraint (Mark iii. 21), would seem to have been prompted by the desire not to wound the feelings of those to whom the "brethren of the Lord" had became venerated persons, and taken in connection with the utter silence which the Second Gospel maintains upon the subject of the supernatural birth is highly significant. The scribe who interrogates Jesus as to the first and great commandment seems in Mark (xii. 28) to do so with a good intention: in Matthew (xxii. 34) christian feeling will no longer tolerate the possibility of a scribe being actuated by an honest motive. The words ascribed to Jesus in the Second and Third Gospels—"why callest thou me good? There is none good but one—God (Mark x. 18, Luke xviii. 19)—seemed to a later generation to be out of keeping with the divine halo which was beginning to gather round the Master's head and accordingly were altered to—"why askest thou me about the good?" (Matt. xix. 17). The withering of the fig-tree under the curse pronounced by Jesus is described in the First Gospel as being instantaneous (παραχρῆμα—Matt. xxi. 19); in the narrative of Mark the blight is only noticed on the morning after the curse (Mark xi. 14, 20, 21). Though Strauss sees in this circumstance a proof of the later origin of the Second Gospel, it is possible that some of you, bearing in mind the tendency of wonderful incidents to become more marvellous at each successive repitition, may arrive at a different judgment.

The few arguments which I have been able to bring under your notice are not of course sufficient to enable you to pronounce upon the merits of the deeply interesting controversies which we have been considering. It has been my great aim throughout this and the preceding lectures to rouse your interest in Modern Sacred Criticism. No more attractive subject, none more worthy of consideration, can engage our thoughts. The difficulties with which it is surrounded ought not to discourage us, but rather to whet our zeal. Truth must triumph in the end, and from a host of contradictory hypotheses must ultimately, after generations of scrutiny and sifting, emerge those destined permanently to gain a certain and unshaken footing. It is easy to ridicule the efforts of those scholars who have attempted to find a way out of the maze of perplexities which beset their path by assuming earlier and later editions of the various Gospels : it is more scientific and more christian to examine on its merits each rival theory with feelings of deep gratitude to God for having inspired men of high and noble minds with the deep desire to solve the mysteries of the problems which confront him who inquires into the origins of christianity. We need entertain no fear lest modern research should imperil the reverence in which we all hold our sacred writings. So long as human nature continues to be what it is and always has been—so long as men and women love and suffer, aspire and sin—so long will the master's precious words—babbled by many generations of infant lips, breathed through century after century into the ears of the dying—be efficacious in wiping away the falling tear, in stimulating the weak to nobler effort, in uprooting long established cruelty and injustice. The spirit of Jesus breathes in the synoptic gospels and through their pages wafts to us the perfume of the Galilaean lake, irradiating dreary and monotonous lives with the bright sunshine of unclouded Eastern skies.

LECTURE IV.

In a fragment of Papias the Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia preserved for us in the works of Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. iii. 39, 16), is to be found the following statement: "Matthew noted down in the Hebrew tongue the speeches (λόγια) of the Lord, and every one translated these as well as he could." In the sentence immediately proceeding the one here quoted, mention is made of a Gospel according to Mark in the following terms:—"Mark having become Peter's interpreter, wrote accurately all that he himself remembered, or that [Peter] told him; though he did not record in order the things said or done (λεχθεντα ἢ πραχθέντα) by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord, nor followed him, but attached himself to Peter afterwards, who used to teach so as to satisfy [those who heard him], but not throwing the discourses of the Lord into a consecutive narrative. Thus Mark made no mistake, for he wrote the details down just as he recalled them to his memory (or as Peter narrated them). One thing only was he anxious about, namely, that he should omit no part of [Peter's] teaching and make no false statement concerning it."

In these two extracts we have proof that Papias was acquainted with a Hebrew Gospel, ascribed to Matthew, and with one of which Mark as the mouth-piece of Peter, was the reputed author. No mention is made by this writer, diligent collector of Apostolic traditions and reminiscences as he was, of either the Third or the Fourth Gospel; and he does not seem to have regarded even the two biographies whose existence he recognised as infallible authorities. The testimony of tradition was to his mind far more important and instructive. (οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης.) Dr. Salmon, in his Introduction to the New Testament (ed. 1892, p. 93), labours to convince himself and to satisfy his readers that the works whose utility Papias was disparaging, and which he was ranking

below the "traditions of the elders" were not the Gospels themselves, but commentaries upon them such as those which Basilides is said to have composed. Passing over this completely unsupported conjecture and entering upon the consideration of the extracts themselves, we find little that need detain us in the historian's mention of the Gospel of Mark. The statement that this biography was inspired by Peter is confirmed by the language of Irenaeus who calls its author the "disciple and interpreter of Peter," as well as by the fact that Justin Martyr, quoting from a book which he calls the "Reminiscences of Peter," ascribes to the sons of Zebedee the title 'Boanerges'—an epithet which at present is only to be found in the Second Gospel. The only difficulty which exists to prevent an undoubted identification of the Gospel of Mark as we have it with the book mentioned by Papias is the bishop's assertion that "he wrote down accurately, but not in order, the things either said or done by Christ" (*ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει, τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα*). Does this mean that the work with which Papias was familiar was simply a series of unconnected reminiscences, jotted down without regard to chronological order and so given to the world? If this is the interpretation which we are to place upon the words quoted by Eusebius, then our "Gospel according to Mark" cannot be the book for which Papias vouches. Our Second Gospel evidently purports to be a continuous biography; if its arrangement of events is not the same as that of Matthew and Luke, it none the less constitutes in itself a complete chronological life of Jesus from the beginning of his ministry till after the Crucifixion. Or does Papias by his language simply intend to pass censure upon the method in which the sequence of events is arranged? Many as are the points of contact between the Gospels of Matthew and Mark and close as is the resemblance which they bear to one another, the incidents recorded in their several biographies do not occur in the same order. For example, the ordination of the twelve and their investiture with supernatural powers are placed by Mark after the cure effected by Jesus in the synagogue upon the Sabbath day of the man who had the

withered hand (iii. 1-6, 13-19); Matthew reverses the order of these events and separates them by a considerable interval (x. 2-5, xii. 9-14.) It may be that Papias in the words just quoted was expressing his opinion that the chronological sequence observed in Mark was inferior to that of some other Gospel or to traditional arrangement. This, however, is not the construction which I am inclined to place upon the words. In my judgment they convey a statement to the effect that Mark's work, though accurate and complete, was not a regular, orderly biography. If this interpretation be correct, a flood of light is cast upon a point which we found very obscure in the last lecture. We saw, then, that the Second Gospel contained many indications of a remote origin side by side with others which seemed irreconcilable with such antiquity. But if, as Papias seems to say, the original Mark was really a collection of disjointed unconnected jottings, which were subsequently edited with variations and additions, the difficulty vanishes—the proofs of great antiquity and of more recent origin are alike accounted for. This explanation is rendered the more probable by the small account in which, as we have already seen, Papias and probably his contemporaries held written biographies.

The coming of Jesus in the clouds was even yet eagerly looked for: of what use under such circumstances were books? Stories told by the Apostles themselves, or retailed by persons who had been intimate with those who "had seen the Lord," were far more reliable sources of information. It was only when the prominent figures of the Apostolic Age had receded into the distant back-ground of tradition that a Canon became to spring into existence. One of the arguments relied on by critics who deny the genuineness of the first epistle to Timothy is the fact that it quotes a sentiment—"The labourer is worthy of his hire"—only to be found in the Third Gospel (Luke x. 7), designating it as "Scripture" (1 Tim. v. 8)—a convincing proof in their judgment of its later origin. To Justin Martyr, it is only the Old Testament which is "Scripture": the "Memoirs of the Apostles" which he cites—though possessing a great deal in common with the Synoptic

Gospels—contain many incidents of which no record remains. For example, Justin (Dial. cc. 88, 103) tells us that when Jesus was baptized by John the Baptist, the river Jordan took fire and that a voice came from Heaven saying—"Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." Many instances of the same nature might be quoted, going to prove that Justin had access to materials with which we are unacquainted; while the frequent discrepancies which exist between his account of the Master's sayings and the quotations contained in the Evangelists (see Westcott, Canon of the New Testament ed. 1881, pp. 128-130) evince the freedom with which he employed his authorities, even on the assumption that he was familiar with the Synoptic Gospels in any shape approaching to their present form. The hypothesis of an amended and connected edition of Mark's Gospel, superseding an original collection of isolated notes, while giving its full significance to the language of Papias, is not rendered incredible or improbable by what we know of the condition of Christian Literature during the first half of the Second Century.

Far more difficult of explanation, however, is the former of the two extracts quoted above. Indeed, it brings us face to face with what is perhaps the most perplexing problem in all New Testament criticism, with the single exception of the origin of the Fourth Gospel. Is the "Gospel according to Matthew," as we possess it now the same work as that referred to by Papias? Observe his language:—"Matthew wrote the speeches in the Hebrew dialect. Every one interpreted them as he could." (Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο. Ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος. (Euseb. H. Eccl. iii. 39.) If this sentence has any meaning at all, it must be understood as stating that Matthew was originally written in the Hebrew tongue. But our First Gospel presents, it is argued, none of the features of a translation—it is on the face of it an original work. No person writing in Hebrew could have fallen into the error which we pointed out in the last lecture as underlying Matthew ii. 23—"Behold a virgin shall conceive &c."—which is evidently the work

of a compiler misled by the Septuagint version of the passage. Again, the mistranslation to which we have already referred, which reads "potter" instead of "treasury" (Matth. xxxii. 9, 10) must be the work of a Greek writer misunderstanding his Hebrew original: such a mistake could not have occurred in a genuine Hebrew writing. Another argument against identification of our First Gospel with the work of which Papias speaks is furnished by his use of the word λόγια—"Matthew," he says "wrote down the sayings." Does this statement force us to believe that the Matthew of Papias was merely a collection of the utterances ascribed to Jesus, without any narrative of the incidents of his life? If this is the meaning of the sentence quoted, then, we cannot be in possession of the book with which this author was acquainted; for, although Matthew differs from his fellow Synoptic Evangelists, and especially from Mark, in the greater number of the speeches which he reports, and in the greater length and fullness of his citations, his Gospel cannot be called a mere collection of sayings unrelieved by narrative. Dr. Salmon, however, protests against the construction put upon the words of Papias, which attaches to the expression λόγια the meaning of "speeches," "utterances": he contends at considerable length and with consummate ability, that the proper signification of the word is "oracles," used in the sense of Gospel, and would interpret the sentence thus: "Matthew wrote the oracles in Hebrew." In the same spirit, the learned Provost would entitle the work of Papias, from which these citations are made, not "Commentary upon the Sayings of the Lord," but "Exposition of the Gospels," (Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις). Dr. Westcott (Canon of the New Testament, edit. 1881, p. 71) accepts this translation of the title of the work of Papias, and most of the apologists unhesitatingly adopt it. A good deal is to be said in favour of this interpretation, in view of the use which different New Testament writers have made of the word λόγια; but without entering further into the merits of such a controversy, I may be allowed to say that if we so translate the reference which Papias has made to Matthew, we deprive his

reference to Mark's gospel of all point and force. Why should he take the trouble to inform us that Mark wrote a work containing all things "either said or done" by Jesus, if the only information which he has to afford us about Matthew is that he wrote a gospel, containing presumably the same ingredients? Why is such stress laid on the one book, being a record of historic incidents as well as a report of speeches, if the meaning which Dr. Westcott, Provost Salmon, and other writers of the same school attach to λόγια is the correct one? This is a question which, in my judgment, these learned divines are called upon to answer.

Those critics who deny that in our First Gospel we have the work of the Apostle Matthew, in exactly the same shape as when it left his hands, point with confidence to the account of the calling of this disciple as given in this biography. (See Matth. ix. 9, also Mark ii. 14, where the same story is told of a publican called Levi.) They insist that had the latter part of the biography consisted of the reminiscences of an eye-witness, it should have been distinguished from the earlier portions by a greater particularity and fullness and in the absence of any such well marked distinction, all proof that the ecclesiastical tradition as to the origin of the First Gospel is not to be relied upon. It cannot be denied that, in view of the citations from Papias already referred to, and of the peculiarities presented by the biography itself, the problem of the authorship of the Gospel according to Matthew, is a most perplexing and difficult one. In the apocalyptic extract alluded to in our last lecture, we have a clear indication of remote antiquity—the "holy place" is to be desecrated (there is no prophecy of its destruction), and "immediately" (εὐθέως) after this catastrophe celestial disturbances are to occur, prefacing the coming of the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory (Matth. xxiv. 15-30). On the other hand, in the narrative which represents the chief priests and Pharisees as demanding a guard from Pilate, and as bribing the soldiers to state that the disciples had stolen the body of Jesus while they slept (Matth. xxvii. 62-66, xxviii. 11-15),

we have evidently the work of a later generation, when controversy had already sprung up as to the reality of the Resurection and a plausible explanation had gained currency amongst the Jews: the words "and this saying is commonly reported among the Jews *until this day*" (*μέχρι τῆς σήμερον*) could hardly have been written had not a considerable interval of time elapsed since the occurrence of the transactions there recorded. Moreover, the adoption in the baptismal order of the later formula—"into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit" (Matth. xxxiii. 19)—acts as an additional indication of the presence of less ancient elements in the First Gospel. The original practice seems to have been to baptise converts into the name of Jesus alone (see Acts viii. 16, Romans vi. 3, Gal. iii. 27): the adoption of the fuller formula was due to the development of later ecclesiastical ritual. Perhaps, I may at this point call your attention to the use of the purely Roman word *κυστώδιαν* in Pilate's reply in xxvii. 65—"ye have a watch." Latinisms like this and the word *κῆνσον*, mentioned in our last lecture, are certainly very unexpected in a work saturated by Judaism, and issuing from the Judaeo-christian circle of Batanea. The story of the tribute-money, in which occurs the latter of these two Latinisms (Matth. xvii. 24-27), while for the reasons mentioned in the preceding lecture of an undoubtedly ancient character, seems—if we compare the parallel passage in Mark's Gospel—(Mark ix. 30-34)—a later intercalation; and in the same way, the miracle of Peter's walking on the sea (Matth. xiv. 28-31) is by those critics who assert the priority of Mark, declared to be so manifest an insertion between Mark vi. 50 and vi. 51 that "the edges of the wound are still raw." How are we to reconcile these inconsistent indications of date? How elaborate a hypothesis which, while giving full force to the words of Papias, will at the same time be in keeping with the evidence afforded us by the Gospel itself? This is indeed a perplexing problem and one which may well tax the ingenuity and critical acumen of scholars.

The time has not yet come for the solution of the

mysteries which now beset us. It is possible—and you will recollect that I only put this forward as a suggestion—that future critics will ultimately come to recognise in the First Gospel two separate naratives, one composed by an intense and earnest Judaeo-christian and the other by a more liberal writer, both put together and harmonised into one biography by a later editor. The two accounts of the centurion from Capernaum and of the woman of Canaan (Matth. viii. 5-10, xv. 21-28), in which the same incident is treated in a very different spirit, would thus become intelligible: the two narratives of feeding, two demands for a sign, two reproaches of casting out devils by the aid of Beelzebub, and the other instances of duality which characterise this gospel, would thus without difficulty be accounted for. The words of Papias, on which we have dwelt so long, will cease to be attended with any difficulty, if we admit the insertion in our present First Gospel of the collection of speeches compiled by Matthew in the Hebrew tongue. The incorporation of these utterances into the body of the narrative may serve to explain why the First Gospel was entitled "the Gospel according to Matthew" (κατὰ Ματθαῖον). It may, however, be useful to note that while some scholars maintain that this designation must be taken as expressing a conviction on the part of those who first employed it, that a writer called Matthew was the author, other critics, of not inferior weight, contend that the title only conveys an assurance that the contents of the book are in harmony with the spirit of Matthew's teaching and a true record of his reminiscences. The latter authorities rely on the use among the ancient christians of the terms "Gospel according to Peter" and "Recollections of Peter." They point in addition to the fact that Paul, before any written biography of the Master had been published, spoke of his system of teaching and of the doctrines which he espoused as "my Gospel" (Romans ii. 16, xvi. 25).

In our third lecture I spoke at some length of Pauline and Jewish elements, both of which are clearly to be observed in Luke, and I shall not now repeat the examples which I cited then. Neither shall I weary you, as I have

too frequently had occasion to do, by quoting the names of witnesses to the Third Gospel. It is sufficient to say that in the pages of Justin Martyr we find allusions and expressions which we cannot fairly ascribe to any other source than to the Third Gospel. One point there is, however, connected with the external evidence of which we are now treating, of such paramount importance that not even the brief and necessarily incomplete method of our treatment would justify us in passing it over. I refer to the attitude adopted by Marcion in relation to the Gospels, and the bearing which this has upon modern criticism. Marcion was a wealthy native of Sinope, who came to Rome about the middle of the second century. In his hands the peculiar doctrines of Paul—his anti-legalism and hostility to Jewish influences—received its fullest development. His system, denounced as a heresy by the church, stood to Paulinism in the same relation as did the later Ebionitish sects to the Judaeo-christianity of Peter and James. Between the invisible God of the Christians and the demiurge of the Jews, he drew a well marked distinction: they were opposing deities of different degrees of power—the demiurge had given the Law, the true God had sent Jesus. The true ideas enunciated by Christ had been adroitly misrepresented by the Jewish prejudices of his disciples: among the whole band of the apostles, Paul was the only genuine representative of the spirit of the Master. Of course, the advocate of such opinions was denounced, and his right to be deemed a brother denied by the Catholic Church in Rome. "Do you not recognise me?" said Marcion to Polycarp, as they met one day in a public spot. "Yes," replied the well known Asiatic saint, "I recognise Satan's eldest son." As Marcion, though repudiated by the church, was the founder of a numerous sect, and is admitted by all scholars to have been a man of critical acumen and learning, it is interesting to enquire how many of the books comprised in our New Testament were received by him. We learn that though he adopted all Paul's epistles (except of course the pastoral ones), he rearranged and mutilated them by leaving out all the references to Abraham, whom he hated, and the

quotations from the Old Testament, which in his work entitled "Antithesis," he denounced as immoral and repugnant to christian teaching. Regarding himself as a legitimate successor of the Pauline school, he compiled a gospel, which he called the Gospel according to Paul, based upon Luke's narrative as a groundwork. The fact that such teaching could be promulgated, and that even in the middle of the second century a new gospel could by a clever man be given to the public with any prospect of acceptance, goes far to prove that as yet the exclusive and unassailable authority of our evangelical writings had not been universally recognised: indeed, Marcion seems to have been met and his doctrine overthrown, not by reliance upon a Sacred Canon, but by the prestige of the Episcopate. His selection of the Third Gospel as a basis upon which to erect the superstructure of his teaching raises, however, one question of great importance in view of the controversy upon the origin of the Fourth Gospel—if John, which is so much more hostile to Jewish claims than Luke, had been known to Marcion, would he not have adopted *it* as his groundwork instead of building his narrative upon the Third Gospel? Dr. Salmon (Introduction to the New Testament, ed. 1892, p. 189) contends that the argument underlying this objection is frivolous and superficial. In his judgment, Marcion would have found John even more unsuitable to his purposes than Luke, inasmuch as, spite of the hostility which it displays against the Jews of its time, the great object of the Fourth Gospel is to show the connection subsisting between and the mutual interdependence of the Old and the New Dispensations. Not less clearly marked, however, is the use which Luke makes of Hebrew poetry and traditions; in order to adapt the Third Gospel to his purposes, Marcion must have mutilated it to a degree far beyond what would have been necessary had he adopted John as his groundwork. And this latter biography would have possessed this additional recommendation in the eyes of Marcion: his conception of the nature of Christ—in whom he saw not the real life-like Jesus of Nazareth, but an incorporeal abstraction—would have been more easily developed from

its pages than from those of Luke. So stands the controversy at present. It is for you to say whether or not any weight is to be attached to the objection which I have here mentioned, and whether Marcion's non-employment of the Fourth Gospel is an argument that he was not aware of its existence.

Amid all the vast mass of doubtful and controverted details at which we have so briefly glanced, one certainty stands clearly out. We have good reason for believing that all the Three Synoptic Gospels are to a certain extent composite and the resultant of opposing forces. The Judaeo-Christian Gospel of Matthew, Jewish in its sympathies and referred by tradition to the Christian community in Batanea, seems to betray the presence of elements from another source ; the biography in which the church has with good reason agreed to recognise the interpretation of Christ's life contended for by the Pauline School, is not without traces of other ingredients ; while the neutral Gospel of Mark—like the apostle whom the church recognises as its inspirer—by its very intermediate position and by the other proofs already mentioned, seems to establish its own composite origin. Beyond this, we cannot with certainty go. The history of our Gospels, before they came to be accepted as Scripture, interesting as it is, must for a long time to come remain conjectural. We see that the infancy of the church, still under the influence of the spirit of its departed master, was prolific in narratives and reminiscences, that these were given forth and circulated among the little scattered communities in luxuriant profusion ; that the epoch of systematising and of collection into formal narratives only arrived when the creative fountain began to run dry and the church, its first generation departed, came to recognise that the period of original recollections and testimonies at first hand was at an end. Then, as the theological spirit advanced step by step, corrections and amendments were made, the watchwords of a later generation being sometimes introduced, until at last the process arrived at finality, the cycle of sacred writings was completed, and on the authority of the Episcopate—whose development

is the great characteristic feature of the Second Century —a Canon was adopted and its acceptances enforced on all believers. As Christians and as lovers of the memory of Jesus, it is and must be a source of deep satisfaction to us that the obscurity in which their origin is involved and the doubtful questions raised about their authorship, in no whit impair the claims of our Gospels upon our love and reverence. Through them Jesus lives, through them he speaks. In the Sermon on the Mount, in the parable of the prodigal son, in numerous other precious legacies, we possess the genuine teaching of our Master. The depth and width of the gulf which separates our Gospels from the various apocryphal writings put forth at a later date, is the best testimony to the value of primitive tradition and sets in a clear light the wide distinction which exists between the spontaneous products of Christian love and reverence, and the conscious inventions of a later age, when the memory of the master was no longer fresh and green, and his personality had faded into the cloudland of the supernatural.

There is one writer who, as a contemporary of Jesus, might have been expected to have furnished us with some reliable details as to the Master's life. The Epistles of Paul to the Galatians, the Corinthians, and the Romans, are among the earliest records of Christian antiquity. These writings are of undoubted genuineness, and carry us back to a period much more remote than does the most ancient of the Synoptic Gospels. And yet, we do not find that Paul has added anything to our stock of information concerning the sayings and doings of the Master. Not a single anecdote is imbedded in his letters : no precious maxim has been preserved for us on his authority—the beautiful exhortation "It is more blessed to give than to receive"—ascribed to Jesus and put into the mouth of Paul, is a reminiscence which we owe to the compiler of the Acts (Acts xx. 35). Had the great apostle of the Gentiles made of his opportunities the use which he might have done, it is beyond doubt certain that many priceless gems from the rich store-house of the Master's teaching would have been preserved for us : we should not have

been, as we are now, absolutely dependent upon the gospels for our knowledge of the subject-matter and the style of the discourses of Christ. (The well-known and well-attested advice—"Be ye good money-changers"—is, as you are probably aware, almost the only authentic fragment of the teaching of Jesus which has come to us from extra-evangelical sources.) Paul was unfortunately precluded, not less by the peculiarities of his natural disposition than by the circumstances in which he was placed from rendering this great service to the christian world. He had indeed bowed in allegiance to Jesus: but his Master was not the Christ of Galilaean tradition: he was a Christ evolved from the inner consciousness of the apostle:—an abstraction, colourless and intangible, takes the place of the active, living, loving Jesus of the Synoptic Evangelists.

Frankly Paul admits and proudly he boasts of the state of isolation in which he held himself secluded from the influence of those who could alone have given him reliable and authentic information (see Gal. i. 15, &c.) To no disciples authority would *he* bow: Christ had spoken to him on the way to Damascus and had deigned to reveal himself personally to him: that one interview was enough for Paul, furnished him with credentials, supplied him with adequate knowledge. This apparition was sufficient attestation of his mission: the results which followed on his preaching proved to demonstration its Apostolic character. Imbued with such sentiments, and to a certain extent inflated with that self-sufficiency from which men of great strength of character are rarely free, Paul showed little curiosity to learn from others the details of his Master's life. That Jesus on the night before his crucifixion partook of a farewell supper along with his disciples, that he suffered the extreme penalty of the law, that he rose from the dead and returned to God—these are the only incidents in the life of Christ with which Paul shows himself familiar. The testimony to the Resurrection contained in the Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xv. 3-8) is note-worthy, as being the earliest extant allusion to that remarkable event. In this letter, written A. D. 58,

Paul tells us that Jesus was raised up the third day according to the scriptures, that he appeared to Peter and then to the Twelve; that he then appeared to more than five hundred brethren at once, the majority of these being still in existence; that he next appeared to James and last of all to Paul himself. Here we observe that Paul places the manifestation of which he was the favoured recipient on the same footing as all the other apparitions of the risen Jesus, and the undoubted subjectivity of this appearance cannot but affect the judgment which we may form as to the objectivity of its predecessors. Moreover, it is remarkable that Paul in describing these apparitions, uses the colourless word ὤφθη exclusively—one eminently suited to describe the manifestation of a vision. He mentions none of those material details which we find in the Gospels—does not represent Jesus as eating, or as presenting himself in corporeal form. In this respect the Synoptic Evangelists show a great advance upon Pauline tradition. But in everything else, it is our Three Gospels which evidently present the more ancient and more authentic view of Christ's person. The process of development, which, encircling the Master's head with an ever-thickening halo, went steadily forward until it culminated in the doctrine of his Supreme Deity, is clearly to be traced by the comparison of Paul's Epistles with the records of the Gospels. The views entertained by the Apostle of the Gentiles as to his Master's dignity, seem to have advanced with his own advancing years—the Epistle to the Colossians betrays a higher Christology than does the Epistle to the Galations.

It is, therefore, to the Synoptic Evangelists almost exclusively that we must resort when we seek Materials for a Life of Christ. Nor need this dependence cause us to despair of ultimately arriving at a clear and accurate, though incomplete, idea of the character of the teaching of Jesus and the incidents of his life. Composite as we have seen our gospels to be, credulous as were their compilers, unlearned in science, untrained in habits of accurate thought—accustomed to refer to objective causes phenomena which modern psychology would explain

subjectively—we have yet data sufficient to enable us to write the life of Jesus, provided the task is approached in a spirit of reverence and of unswerving loyalty to truth. We must recognise the irresistible tendency of an ignorant, credulous, and susceptible generation to transform the subjective into the objective, to read allegory as literal fact, to exhibit the spiritual under a material guise. I had hoped to have been able to present you with some instances of the operation of this process as exemplified in such naratives as those of the Gadarean swine, the feeding of the multitude, and Peter's walking on the sea; but these lectures have already exceeded their proper limits, and a conclusion must now be reached. It is with deep regret that I quit my subject, of which I have only been able to touch the very fringe. Permit me to recommend earnestly to your perusal the Fifth and Sixth Volumes of the Bible for Young People, translated from the Dutch by Philip Wicksteed, M.A. Here you will find a Life of Jesus written in a spirit of deep love and reverence, combined with a frank recognition of the necessity which lies upon critics of reconciling the recorded incidents of the Master's career with the lessons which science teaches us of the unchanging nature of Eternal Law. "Hic aut nusquam est quod petis." If Jesus is to hold his present place in men's affectionate rememberance—and as Christians we feel assured that he will do so—an interpretation of his life and work must be found which can be accepted by the highly trained critical acumen and the scientific spirit of our time. That this will ultimately be so I believe and hope. Then will the Master have won another of his victories, then will he prove once again what he has so often demonstrated before—that his teaching equally suits the spiritual wants of men of all times and all nations, whatever be the standard of their spiritual, moral, or intellectual development. The ignorance of the Dark Ages and the bright joyance of the Renaissance, the medieval Scholasticism of the Eleventh Century and the Puritan Bibliolatry of the Seventeenth, the recluses of Byzantine monasteries and the hardy pioneers in American forests all alike have done honour to Jesus, all have bowed to his

name. Greatest of all will be his victory if, through modern Criticism, he asserts his dominion over the hearts of men whose minds are instructed in the teachings of modern science, if the philosopher of the Nineteenth and the Twentieth Centuries is induced to join in the cry of the Galilaean visitants to Jerusalem: "Hosanna, glory to him who cometh in the name of the Lord." That this aspiration may soon be realised, is our hope and prayer. Amen.